Daily Report

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NOTICE TO READERS: On 6 May 1991, the DAILY REPORT will begin phasing in new radio and television sourcelines that reflect how a station identifies itself. This change eliminates the "Domestic Service" and "Television Service" designations in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Commentator on Resolving CFE Treaty Disputes

LD2904173791 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] There is an ongoing exchange of views between Moscow and Washington about resolving the protracted disputes over the different interpretation of points in the treaty signed last November to reduce conventional forces in Europe. What is the present state of affairs? An opinion from our commentator Yuriy Solton.

I may remind you of the essence of the matter. The United States accuses the Soviet Union of trying to remove from the effect of the treaty some of the armaments that had to be eliminated as the USSR has put three motorized infantry divisions into a [as heard] coastal defence forces. The United States regards it not only as a violation of the treaty but also as a dangerous precedent for other countries, undermining trust which is so much needed on issues of disarmament. The White House has decided so far not to submit the treaty to the Senate for ratification, despite the fact that leaders of Senate committees voiced readiness to consider it.

I must say in all fairness that the doubts about the Soviet interpretation of the treaty are aired by other signatories. Completion of work on another important document about reducing strategic offensive armaments of the Soviet Union and the United States is made dependent on the solution of these Soviet-American disputes.

The disputed issues have been discussed at many different levels. President Gorbachev and President Bush have exchanged letters on this score. The latest attempt to resolve the differences was made last week at the talks in Kislovodsk between the Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and the United States Secretary of State James Baker. There are indications that the attempt was successful. it has been disclosed by competent Soviet sources that noticeable progress has been made. Americans also confirm that. According to an American diplomat who asked not to reveal his name, it has become possible to solve a considerable part of the disputed points. Out of the three stumbling blocks, the diplomat said, there actually remains one, least of all essential, following the Kislovodsk talks. Well, that's gratifying news.

I am far from justifying the Soviet military who, for the sake of strengthening national security, interpreted the treaty in their own way, having put the diplomats in a difficult position. I also don't accept the original stand taken by the United States, amounting to an ultimatum. It is important that the two sides were not unyielding and began to patiently look for a way out to solve their differences. They seem to have found the way. That makes it possible to speak of sufficient durability of the Soviet-American dialogue over the past year [sentence as heard]

SS-24 Production Allegations Denied

PM2504105591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by Major General G. Kashuba of the USSR Defense Ministry press center under the "Rejoinder" rubric: "Mr Hertz Has Many Hats..."]

[Text] "How many hats has Mr Hertz got?"—that was the title of a rejoinder published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 April. It emerged from its content that this question was by no means the fruit of someone's idle curiosity with regard to the wardrobe of the WASHINGTON TIMES staffer. It mentioned that in England they say of someone caught out lying: "He should eat his hat." And it was of brazen lying that Mr Hertz was guilty.

One more proof of this was his recent article, again in THE WASHINGTON TIMES, on the development of a new model Soviet ICBM model—the rail-mobile SS-24. The article even names the specific plant producing it—in Pavlograd, where the tests of the engine for the improved model of this missile have allegedly begun. The number of missiles already produced is also cited—about 400 which, Hertz writes, is considerably in excess of the limit set for them—250.

It was announced at the main staff of the Strategic Missile Forces that the figure of 400 has nothing in common with the truth. It is the fruit of the author's imagination, of his creative fantasy, so to speak, but of a far from innocuous fantasy. It is also appropriate to note that in accordance with the draft strategic offensive arms treaty, and it is that treaty which provides for the limit of 250 missiles mentioned in THE WASHINGTON TIMES (and this figure does not appear again anywhere else) it is not the number of missiles produced which is restricted but the number of undeployed missiles for mobile launchers. Here the restrictions will begin to operate when the treaty enters into force.

Nor does the draft treaty provide for the establishment of a ban on the modernization of existing types of missiles. As for the tests at the Pavlograd plant, it was only tests on regular engine installations for the SS-24 missile in accordance with the requirements of the production process. There have been no tests of models of new arms.

Here it is perhaps appropriate to recall the well known saying: "He doesn't know the score." Perhaps even Mr Hertz would not protest about that: After all sometimes it is advantageous to cite the lack of adequate information. But everyone familiar with his work has been persuaded that he knows "the score" very well" and who is scoring and why. That is also confirmed in part by his article.

The emergence of a new ICBM model for the USSR, the article says, could have an adverse effect on the completion of work on the Strategic Offensive Arms treaty. What the author wants is visible to the naked eye, as they

say. It is no accident that the article is timed for the start of the resumption in Geneva of the talks on nuclear and space arms. The aim here is obvious—to galvanize a question already frequently puffed up by certain circles—the question of "the difficulties of doing business" with the Soviet Union, which allegedly has "an incorrect attitude" toward the fulfillment of the commitments it has assumed.

And here is another thing that draws the attention. Hertz cites sources in the U.S. intelligence services. It is well known that these services do not issue any information to anyone "just like that." But from time to time a "leak" of information occurs or to be more precise is organized. And, as has already frequently been confirmed, this happens precisely when the need arises to direct the movement of public opinion into a specific channel, in the interests, inter alia, of "extracting" appropriations for the implementation of military programs. And there is the following coincidence here: Hertz' article appears at precisely the moment when the U.S. Congress intends to examine the Defense Department budget for fiscal 1992-1993. And if you consider that the U.S. Administration is having problems in obtaining the funds to implement its strategic programs, it will become clear why Mr Hertz has seized on the missile theme. He who pays orders the "score" or the music. And since the client is unstinting, obviously Hertz is convinced that he can even eat his hat.

TASS Roundup of Churkin 29 Apr Briefing

Iraqi Government-Kurds Talks

LD2904142391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 29 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr (TASS)—Vitaliy Churkin, head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Department, expressed satisfaction at the news of progress having been achieved in the talks between the government of Iraq and the leaders of Kurdish organizations. During these talks the question of expanding the autonomous rights of Iraqi Kurdistan was also discussed.

The accords that have been worked out should contribute to a solution of the problem of Kurdish refugees and the return to their homes of hundreds of thousands of people who are now in a miserable situation, the Soviet diplomat said. "We wish success to the peaceful dialogue that has been started and hope that the participants will manage to achieve complete accord, Vitaliy Churkin said. This will relieve the international community from giving humanitarian help to the Kurdish population of Iraq, and will remove the question of the continued presence of foreign military contingents in its northern regions." The countries which sent them have stated that they would leave the territory of Iraq as soon as aid to the refugees passes under UN control, the diplomat recalled.

Salvadoran Government-FMLN Talks

LD2904143291 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 29 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Aleksandr Kanishev]

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—An important step in efforts to unblock the crisis in El Salvador has been made, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing in Moscow today, commenting on talks between the Salvadoran Government and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN]. The talks, mediated by the U.N. Secretary-General, are taking place in Mexico.

The talks produced a package of proposals about changes in the constitution of the country that will be shortly submitted for consideration to the parliament.

According to Vitaly Churkin, the Mexico agreement does not guarantee the final normalisation of the situation but can be seen as "a manifestation of the readiness of the two warring sides to work towards that goal".

Churkin expressed hope that at the next round of talks in early May, the sides will use the attained agreements to find adequate mutually acceptable solutions to the outstanding issues in internal political life. This, he added, would pave the way for a complete settlement in the country and the region as a whole.

Western Sahara 'Problem'

LD2904150691 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 29 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—The Western Sahara problem will be solved by peaceful political means with the concerns of all involved and interested countries taken into account on the basis of the U.N. Charter and relevant decisions by the U.N. and the Organisation of African Unity, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a Moscow briefing today, reaffirming the Soviet position.

Vitaliy Churkin made this comment in reply to a question about the Soviet attitude to the report by the U.N. secretary-general that proposed holding a self-determination referendum in Western Sahara under U.N. control.

This document is currently being examined by the U.N. Security Council.

Untying the Western Sahara knot, he noted, will help improve the situation in Arab Maghreb and Africa.

Because the U.N. operation to hold the referendum requires large financial outlays, the question is being examined in the USSR in an established legal procedure at government level, Churkin explained.

As a result, the Soviet representative at the Security Council proposed postponing by several days the Security Council decision on the U.N. secretary-general's report.

Commentator on Cooperation With U.S. in Mideast

LD3004111091 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 30 Apr 91

[By TASS commentator Pavel Vasilyev]

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—The Soviet Union and the United States are taking steps to settle the Middle East conflict.

The brief meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Kislovodsk the other day and their rather terse commentaries on the meeting do not give grounds for this far-reaching conclusion. But there are many signs that Soviet-American cooperation to settle the conflict has assumed a new dimension.

A joint statement by the two ministers on the Middle East conflict adopted late in January set the trend. It

came unexpectedly and was said to be prompted by circumstantial considerations of Soviet and U.S. diplomats.

After the military victory by the U.S.-led coalition over Iraq, some U.S. and other observers thought that the United States could operate in the Middle East independently. According to them, the new correlation of forces in the world and the region gives the U.S. the opportunity to secure a settlement on terms favourable to it, without the participation of the Soviet Union or other third parties.

Baker's statements indicate that he does not subscribe to this opinion. Indeed, a settlement encouraged by the efforts of only one country seems problematic in a region like the Middle East, where complex problems accumulated. Meanwhile, there is no doubt that a settlement is urgently needed, and if the present opportunity for settlement is lost, the next flare-up could lead to disaster.

In these conditions it is natural for the United States to cooperate with the Soviet Union, which has levers of influence in the region.

Because the USSR and the U.S. now cooperate in settling conflicts in Central America, Southeast Asia and South Africa, they are overcoming mutual suspiciousness.

Commentaries by participants in the negotiations made it clear that specific aspects of organising a peace process were discussed in Kislovodsk. The U.S. and the Soviet Union are prepared to sponsor a Middle East peace conference with the participation of all parties involved in the conflict. These parties are prepared to cooperate with the two powers on this basis.

The most difficult tasks lie ahead. There is no consensus on a number of organisational aspects of a peace conference, and obstacles to settlement will become more apparent when negotiations begin. It is important, however, that positions shared by the USSR and the U.S. come to light when assessing these obstacles and approaching important aspects in settling the Middle East problem.

Thus both countries believe that the construction of Israeli settlements in the West Bank of Jordan and Israel's unwilliness to reconginse the principle "territories in return for peace" is an obstacle to the settlement. The USSR and the U.S. agreed that the settlement should be based on the U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

During negatiations, more common positions may be found. There is already a high level of mutual confidence between the USSR and the U.S., which can only help in the search for peace.

United States & Canada

TASS Criticizes Discovery's 'Star Wars' Mission

LD3004102491 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 30 Apr 91

[By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshov]

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—The United States' launching the Discovery spaceship is a prominent event in science and engineering. The NBC TV company said in its news programme that the launching is another step forward in the attempt to show that the Star Wars systems are operable.

With deep respect for the bravery of American astronauts, we should like to pose the following question: Is their present mission so honourable? The step forward is, in real fact, a dash backward to the arms race which Washington and Moscow seemed seriously to try to end.

Moreover, deploying Star Wars systems and testing their elements will involve shifting weapons to near-earth space. Consequently, this will mean the creation of a lethal sphere around our mother earth.

The Star Wars programme is a Cold War relic. This is especially clear now that the USSR and the United States have turned to cooperation. The two sides are completing a Soviet-American treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons, and Moscow and Washington are seeking to jointly build collective security.

The SDI programme was a long-standing barrier to reaching mutually acceptable decisions at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva.

Although a year ago the Soviet Union decided not to link the non-militarisation of space with the conclusion of the START treaty (which gave new impetus to the negotiations), the shadow of Star Wars continues to darken the dialogue, questioning one side's implementation of the ABM treaty.

Expressing various opinions about SDI, Soviet and American specialists agree that the deployment of such a system would upset the strategic balance between the USSR and the United States.

On the other hand, its military effectiveness is strongly doubted.

Nevertheless, the U.S. Administration does not want to take a reasonable step that would conform to the realities of our times: to shake off the old dogmas of "star warriors".

It is high time to send programmes of the SDI type to the archives. Let us hope that realism will take the upper hand in Washington.

Bush Cited on Support for Gorbachev

LD3004085791 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] The United States regards as hopeful the fact that USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev remains the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

Speaking on Monday at a press conference in Washington, U.S. President George Bush stated that the leadership of the Soviet Party of Communists would have made a grave political error last week if it had accepted its leader's resignation. Bush stressed that, despite growing criticism levelled at Gorbachev, he remains the only political figure capable of conducting effective party leadership. President Bush stated his readiness to extend every support for reforms in the USSR.

However, he added that new U.S. credits to the Soviet Union would depend largely on how rapid a movement would be made by the Soviet leadership toward creating a market economy.

China

PRC Border Talks 'Friendly,' 'Businesslike'

LD2904174891 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—The 5th round of Soviet-Chinese talks on border issues took place in Moscow from April 25-29. The Soviet delegation was led by Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and the Chinese by Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei.

The Soviet delegation included representatives of republics bordering on China, among them Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

During the friendly and businesslike talks, the sides noted progress made since the previous round of the border negotiations. The delegation leaders initialed a bilateral agreement on the eastern section of the Soviet-Chinese state border.

They also endorsed accords reached by three working groups, which deal with border sections still to be agreed upon, the legal sealing of the agreed sections, and topographical matters.

The sides agreed to continue considering sections to be agreed upon on the basis of existing principles and in the spirit of the joint 1989 communique.

The next round of the talks is to be held in Beijing.

Bessmertnykh, Tian 'Satisfied'

LD2904203191 Moscow TASS in English 2023 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—Mutual satisfaction with the results of a regular round of Sino-Soviet border talks here was expressed during today's meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh and Tian Zengpei, Chinese deputy foreign minister and leader of the Chinese Government delegation to the talks.

Bessmertnykh and Tian Zengpei exchanged views on some matters of Sino-Soviet relations within the context of the forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union by Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

The Soviet foreign minister informed the Chinese side of the results of President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan and South Korea.

Kazakhstan, PRC Establish 'Direct Party Ties'

LD2904201691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0932 GMT 29 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Olga Babiy]

[Text] Alma-Ata 29 Apr (TASS)—A delegation from the Academy of Social Sciences affiliated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China [CPC] ended its stay in Kazakhstan today. The group consisted of heads of leading scientific and socio-political institutions in the PRC. It is the first time that such a representative delegation of staff from the CPC has been to Kazakhstan in the last 35 years.

Receiving the CPC delegation, Vladislav Anufriyev, second secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, told the guests something about the political and economic situation in the republic, and about the activity of the leadership of the republican party organization in present-day conditions. The social scientists displayed heightened interest in the Kazakh communists' experience in ideological work and in issues of consolidating all strata of the population in conditions of wide diversity of opinions and contradictory nature of people's views.

Mutual agreement of the sides was expressed on the establishment of direct party ties between the CPC and the Kazakhstan Communist Party. Professor Zheng Bijian, vice president of the Academy of Social Sciences, stressed that during the visit the guests from China had the opportunity to see the stability of the situation in the republic's capital for themselves. This evoked sincere interest in the experience and activity of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

Northeast Asia

Russian Party Delegation Completes DPRK Visit

PM2904153591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Apr 91 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "DPRK Friendship Visit"]

[Text] A Communist Party delegation from Russia headed by Gennadiy Zyuganov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee, left Pyongyang for home yesterday. At the invitation of the Korean Workers Party [KWP], the delegation had studied for a week the situation in the country, its economy, domestic policy, party work, and solution of cadre questions. As part of a full and interesting program the delegation toured three provinces and visited many enterprises and cultural and educational establishments.

In conversation with a TASS correspondent G. Zyuganov stated that the purpose of the delegation's visit was familiarization and study. The RSFSR Communist Party, as a detachment of the CPSU, has already established ties with a number of European parties, and there is interest in its activities also in the DPRK. Ties with the KWP along party lines are traditional; they are a consequence of historical development.

Refraining from an assessment of the "Chuche" ideology on which the Korean model of socialism is based, the delegation head said that he was greatly impressed by "the life-affirming enthusiasm of the Korean people, their general striving for knowledge and for perfection in body and spirit," the high qualifications of everyone he met, the patriotism, and the striving to unite their divided country.

The delegation met with Kim Yong-sun, KWP Central Committee secretary for international questions. The sides agreed on a KWP delegation visit to the Soviet Union, following which plans for future exchanges between the two parties will be defined.

Legislators Arrive in DPRK for Union Meeting

LD2604024391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0839 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Nadashkevich]

[Text] Pyongyang, 25 Apr (TASS)—The delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by Aleksey Yeliseyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group, arrived here to take part in the 85th session of the Interparliamentary Union.

Issues relating to nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, protection of women's rights, childhood and motherhood, human rights and others are on the agenda of the present forum.

The session will take place in the DPRK 29 April-4 May.

Exhibition Commemorates KPA Anniversary

SK3004094791 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 25 Apr 91

[From the "Various Aspects of Cooperation" program]

[Text] Today marks the 59th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army [KPA]. On the occasion of this anniversary, an exhibition opened at the Soviet Army Central Museum in Moscow yesterday. You will now hear an on-the-spot report by our station reporter (Valeriy Zurikov).

It has been a tradition to hold an exhibition on this significant event in the life of the DPRK here in the Soviet Army Central Museum at (Komuna) Plaza in Moscow every year on the eve of the KPA founding's anniversary. Present at the opening ceremony of the exhibition were generals and officers of the Soviet Army, solders of the Moscow garrison, delegates of public circles in Moscow, and Maj. Gen. Kim Chong-chan, military attache of the DPRK Embassy in the Soviet Union.

Col. (Gennadiy Petrov), head of the museum, made a welcoming speech.

[Begin (Gennadiy Petrov) recording in Russian fading into Korean translation] In the name of all the soldiers present here, including my own, I congratulate the Comrade Major General and wish you success in your work. I express my hope that this exhibition will contribute to the friendship and cooperation between the peoples and armies of our two countries. [end recording]

Maj. Gen. Kim Chong-chan in his speech stressed that the KPA has grown over the past 59 years into a strong and well-armed army that dependably defends its country. He said that the Soviet people and Army helped greatly in founding the KPA and have been giving continuous support to the Korean people's struggle for the reunification of the country.

Concluding his speech, Maj. Gen. Kim Chong-chan said as follows:

[Begin Kim Chong-chan recording] I express my thanks to the military historical museum for its holding a photo exhibition every year on our army day. Our people will spare no effort to strengthen and develop the friendly and cooperative relations with the fraternal Soviet people and Army in the future as well. Finally, I wish the Soviet people new success in their efforts to adhere to the union and socialism, and to achieve economic stability and social progress. Long live friendship and unity between the peoples and armies of Korea and the Soviet Union! [end recording]

Then Col. (Anatoliy Popov), who is in charge of the scientific presentation division of the museum, explained the goods on display. Nearly half of them were documents and photographs which were on display for the first time and which explained the militant road traversed by the KPA, the assistance given by the Soviet Union toward Korean liberation, and the Korean soldiers today.

After touring the exhibition, Maj. Gen. Kim Chong-chan said:

[Begin Kim Chong-chan recording] Thank you for arranging this wonderful photo exhibition. I take this opportunity once again to reconfirm that we will make every effort to continuously strengthen and develop the indestructible friendship and unity between the peoples and armies of our two countries. [end recording]

Commentator on Ties With Both Koreas

SK3004031591 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 25 Apr 91

[From "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] In a recent meeting with ROK politicians, ROK President No Tae-u reconfirmed that he supports the idea of signing a neighborly relations and cooperation treaty with the Soviet Union. As has been reported, the presidents of the Soviet Union and the ROK met on Cheju Island last week and agreed on this. Our station commentator Sergey Petrov writes on this:

Until sometime ago, signing a treaty of this nature with the ROK could only have been the subject of fiction. This was not surprising because the Soviet Union dealt with the state in the southern part of the Korean peninsula only within the realm of Soviet-U.S. relations. The Soviet Union took Seoul for a puppet of the U.S. imperialists. This was an ideological inference peculiar to the cold war era. Even Soviet experts on Soviet relations with foreign countries could hardly believe that confrontation could be turned into cooperation within such a short period of time, a period of only one day when compared to the long history of mankind worldwide, including the Soviet Union. Indeed, Moscow is still yet unable to demonstrate its economic vitality. In foreign policy, however, it is seeing tangible results. An example of this is the development of Soviet-ROK relations. Within the short time of 10 months, the two countries exchanged trade missions, established diplomatic relations, and held three rounds of summit meetings. This development of events is not (?pleasing) to everyone, however. There has even been an allegation of treachery. It is true that the Soviet Union is in need of funds. However, if they claim that we sold out our national interest for the $3-billion loan, this is a very foolish assertion. As for the neighborly relations treaty to be signed, this will not mean any change in political rationality. Each side will adhere to its own interests and continue to belong to its current alliances. However, the two countries will be assured of civilized interstate negotiations. Only the Soviet Union among the major powers in the Asia-Pacific region has diplomatic relations with both states on the Korean peninsula. By doing

so, our country will help provide a basis for bringing forth stability in the situation on the Korean peninsula, which is one of the old areas of conflict. Moscow is capable of directly informing the two Korean states of its position. In that capacity, Moscow does not intend to impair the interests of either side.

The Soviet-ROK cooperation treaty will become an excellent basis to develop the relations henceforth between the two countries. Moscow and Seoul are now heading for the relationship of working partners. Time will tell whether the relations between close friends will be established.

Outcome of Gorbachev Japan Visit Assessed

91UF0676A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by Yu. Subbotin: "Islands the Stumbling Block: On the Results of the USSR President's Visit to Japan"]

[Text] One can say that the visit of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev to Japan has become first in a number of such foreign trips by the head of our government which have caused a considerable difference of opinions in the evaluation of its results.

"We signed a joint statement," said Japanese Prime Minister T. Kaifu, "which concretely reflects the existence of a territorial problem, unmentioned for a long time in any bilateral documents. It is an obvious success compared to previous times when the existence of the problem was not admitted."

At the same time the KYODO news service announced that Japanese business circles were rather disappointed with what they thought was a negligible step forward in the solution of the territorial problem, achieved during lengthy negotiations between M.S. Gorbachev and T. Kaifu.

The press of third countries was often very critical in its opinions. The British THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, for instance, characterized the Tokyo talks as "intensive, sometimes heated, and often fruitless." The editorial comment of its "compatriot", the FINANCIAL TIMES, expressed certain regrets about a "lost opportunity for normalizing" Soviet-Japanese relations. Many similar thoughts could be found in our mass media also.

But is it appropriate to talk about "normalizing relations" between countries which maintain a full scope of relations on the diplomatic level, which are developing trade and economic ties (Japan holds fourth place among the USSR's Western partners), which are developing scientific and cultural contacts? Speaking of which, their basis was considerably strengthened by a whole package of corresponding agreements.

The problem of not having a peace treaty between our two countries remains. This is an essential, though a rather formal issue. There is also another point of view about it: We have lived without it for 45 years, so we can live without it in the future. However, apart from such a cynical, though somewhat justified position, if we look to see whether there was an opportunity lost that would have permitted a peace treaty to be signed or for such an event to come closer, we will have to admit that we lost no opportunity that did not entail making deliberate unilateral concessions.

The rigid stance of the Japanese side on the territorial issue, as well as our own domestic political troubles, left the Soviet delegation no room for maneuvering. There were hopes that our side would agree to certain territorial concessions in exchange for hard currency injections into our distressed economy, but these hopes did not materialize. If that is what is meant by a lost opportunity, then the situation may be corrected—we just have to agree to play the part of a second-rate country that is told what to do and graded on deportment.

So, how should we evaluate the results of this visit? "May we consider it a success?" is the question asked by our Western colleagues. I prefer to use other terms in this case. By tradition we usually consider successful only those summit meetings which end in the signing a major agreement in the area of intergovernmental relations, disarmament, etc. However, texts of these agreements are not compiled during such meetings. They are prepared and agreed upon by experts during a long period preceding the brief signing ceremony. Dialogues between the highest leaders are valuable in themselves if, of course, they are businesslike and fundamental in character.

Based on all that, the Tokyo meeting seems to us to have been important and necessary. Judging from appearances, the Japanese side holds a similar point of view as they expressed interest in continuing the dialogue. The Japanese mass media announced their government's decision to send the head of their foreign policy agency to Moscow right after the London conference of the leaders of the seven developed capitalist countries. This visit is supposed to take place at the end of July. During the meeting there will be discussions concerning the time and agenda for a return visit by the head of the Japanese Government to the USSR. According to preliminary data, this visit may take place in August-September of this year.

Nearer to that time, commentators will start asking the same questions they asked just before the Soviet-Japanese summit meeting that just ended: Will the territorial issue be resolved or, at least, made less critical? Will economic relations between the two countries be elevated to a new level, corresponding to their potentials? So far, there is not enough ground for optimism with respect to these two questions, which the Japanese side intentionally tied into a tight knot.

It is true that Japan's territorial claims toward the USSR did not appear today or yesterday. But it is now that Japanese supporters of a rigid policy must feel tempted

to make it even more rigid as they plan on our possible acquiescence because of our economic problems. As may be seen from the Japanese press, such tendencies were particularly noted during the consultation meeting Prime Minister T. Kaifu held with the leadership of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party that took place after one round of the negotiations with the USSR president.

Whatever our view of that may be, however, the desire to profit from a given situation is quite understandable. It is something else that I do not understand. It seems to me that they do not quite realize in Japan that it is a two-way street; now that separatism is rising its head and centrifugal forces are intensifying in our country, the territorial issue becomes especially sensitive. Reckless attempts to apply pressure where it hurts may, in the long run, cause entirely opposite result only.

But this is a tactical problem. Speaking strategically, Japan will hardly give up its territorial claims in the foreseeable future. One of the prestigious Japanese whom I talked with termed this problem a spiritual one, not an economic one. He even called it a religious issue and qualified it as a symbol of national unity. But to me it seems primarily political.

Not everybody with whom I talked in Japan agreed with this but many people did admit the existence of a considerable disparity between the economic might of their country and the political role that it is playing on the international arena. The lessons of the Persian Gulf crisis turned to be especially sensitive for the Japanese as the crisis proved that even at the end of the 20th century it was the countries which possessed considerable military power that continued to play first fiddle. It is no accident that the issue of changing the status of the Japanese Armed Forces has been put on the agenda in the country; a status that would allow Japan to use its military for various operations in other parts of the world.

As for the so-called "Northern Territories", their annexation would no doubt have been hailed in Japan and in the rest of the world as a major political victory for the country. Japanese politicians cannot but be inspired by the example of the FRG devouring the GDR. Similar outlines of the postmilitary development of its former ally unwittingly make one think along such lines.

Nevertheless, can a further Soviet-Japanese dialogue bring any positive results? It probably can if the Japanese side does not forget that ultimatums are a language suitable for generals but not for politicians, if both sides remember that diplomacy is the art of the possible whose goal is a sensible compromise. Among other things, we have to put our own house in order. When we were a reliable, paying partner, businessmen of the West were willing to cooperate with us, moving ahead of the politicians and laying the road for them.

Near East & South Asia

Primakov Answers Questions on Iraq, USSR

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[Interview with Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, member of the USSR Security Council and President Mikhail Gorbachev's special envoy to Iraq during the Gulf crisis, by Michel Kolometz, Europe Number One and LE POINT correspondent; Pierre Briancon, Liberation and LE POINT Moscow correspondent; Marc Kravetz, of LIBERATION; and Europe Number One announcer Catherine Nay in Paris; date not given; from the "Europe Number One—LIBERATION Press Club" program; Primakov speaks in Russian fading into French translation—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Nay] Good day, Mr. Yevgeniy Primakov. Thank you for accepting the invitation of the Europe Number One LIBERATION Press Club. You are a member of the Security Council of the Soviet Union but, above all, throughout the whole of the Gulf crisis, you were the personal representative of Mr. Gorbachev in all the negotiations with Saddam Husayn, a man whom you have known for a very long time as you were a PRAVDA correspondent in the Middle East in the 1960's. You are in Paris today to present your book "Mission to Baghdad, or the History of a Secret Negotiation," published by the Editions de Seuil. In the book you illustrate and defend the theory that the war with Iraq could have been avoided. Well, we are going to discuss this with you and, if you will, we shall draw the lessons of the Gulf crisis with you, and see what hope you have for a settlement of the urgent problems—the Kurds or the Israeli-Arab crisis. We would also like to know what you think about the role of the United States, and we shall of course also discuss the current situation in the Soviet Union, which we in the West no longer understand very clearly. To question you around this table are Michel Kolometz of Europe Number One and LE POINT, Pierre Briancon, who is a correspondent for LIBERATION and LE POINT in Moscow, and, finally, Marc Kravetz of LIBERATION, who will ask you the first question.

[Kravetz] Yevgeniy Maksimovich...

[Primakov, interrupting] I learned many things about myself from your introduction, and I thank you.

[Nay] Are you saying that it is not true?

[Primakov] Everything is correct and everything is right and it is for that reason that I am thanking you.

[Nay] I thank you too. Well, Marc Kravetz with the first question.

[Kravetz] Good day, Yevgeniy Maksimovich. Today current affairs are obviously focused on the Kurdish question, a question with which you are particularly familiar: 20 years ago you were already a mediator

between the Kurds and the Iraqi Government, and Mr. Saddam Husayn in particular. Today negotiations are again under way between the Kurds and the Iraqis. I would like to know your feelings on those negotiations. Above all, if you had Mr. Barzani [deceased founder of Kurdish Democratic Party] in front of you, would you tell him that he could trust Saddam Husayn in negotiations on the Kurdish question?

[Primakov] Above all I think that holding negotiations is already a gain, it is a path leading to autonomy for the Kurds or rather the restoration of autonomy for the Kurds, because we are going back to the agreement signed on 11 March 1970. That agreement gave a certain chance for Kurdish autonomy within the Iraqi state, this form of autonomy within the Iraqi state suits everyone, not only Iraq but also those outside the country. I have the impression that the time is propitious today for the effective implementation of the agreement, because as you must know the agreement was violated on both sides, by both parties, in 1974.

[Nay] Michel Kolometz:

[Kolometz] For the first time a resolution has been voted in the United Nations which gave a certain juridical value to the duty of humanitarian interference which has been defended by France for the past few years. What is your position on this duty of humanitarian interference and what limits do you put on it?

[Primakov] One of the limits is that this duty of interference must not become like what you call the Brezhnev doctrine: I do not think such a doctrine existed before in the Soviet Union, but I do not wish this doctrine to reappear anywhere in the West either; that is to say that any intervention should be sanctioned, should be authorized by the international community and it should equally receive a favorable response within the country in question.

I would like to make a distinction between humanitarian interference and armed intervention. They are two different questions. Humanitarian interference means supplying food, medical aid, probably certain measures to get that aid to those for whom it is meant, but at the same time I do not think there is anyone who could agree to one state, or several states, being able to send their troops as they like to this or that part of another state if the government of that country, the country involved, did not request it.

[Kolometz] For example, U.S., French, and British soldiers are on Iraqi soil in what is called a protection zone for the Kurdish refugees—does that presence shock you?

[Primakov] It would shock me if that presence were put on a long-term basis.

[Nay] Marc Kravetz.

[Kravetz] Mr. Primakov, you are particularly well placed to know that it is hard to trust Saddam Husayn. The 1970 agreement you mentioned a moment ago was violated—you said on both sides, but no commitment given by Saddam Husayn has been kept—and today one cannot help feeling that in order to solve the problem there is a need for something more than humanitarian intervention. There is a real need for an international guarantee of an agreement signed with the Kurds. Do you think that is the right way to give this guarantee to the Kurds?

[Primakov] I agree with the way you have put the question, because we need a system of international guarantees. This system could only be constructed, however, on a universal basis within a structure, a system, of regional security which should cover all the countries of the region; that is, it would not be limited to Iraq, or even to the region of the Persian Gulf.

[Kravetz] Mr. Primakov, you have just described Mr. Saddam Husayn a little. You have met him several times. So for our listeners, what portrait would you paint of him? What kind of person is he?

[Primakov] Well, I tried to paint a portrait of Saddam Husayn in my book. I would be really pleased if the listeners, your listeners, read this book. But at the same time...

[Kravetz] But you have to surprise them, you have to make them interested, so you must...

[Primakov, interrupting] Well, I do not know about surprising people. Even so, I want to say that Saddam Husayn is a reality, and I would like to stress this reality. After the Gulf war there were Shiite and Kurdish uprisings, in a context where the army, and the majority of the Iraqi population, supported Saddam Husayn, and Saddam Husayn continues to control the situation, to hold it in his hands. What will happen next depends on the development of the situation, not only in Iraq, but also in the neighboring countries. As for Saddam Husayn himself, he has some specific characteristics. He is, in spite of everything, a very decisive man, very determined, probably sometimes very rigid and even fierce and brutal, and there is a certain amount of unpredictability in his character. At the same time, however, I believe he has sufficient potential to give us hope for a positive development of relations with him.

[Nay] Michel Kolometz.

[Kolometz] In your book, Mr. Primakov, you talk about a suicide complex in Saddam Husayn during the Gulf war. Is there not a sort of persecution complex, as indicated by the story you tell of a telephone conversation monitored by the Iraqis and mistranslated by Saddam Husayn? Please tell this story.

[Primakov] As for the translation, and the interpretation, it was translated, or interpreted, or decoded by Saddam. It seems to me that as for the suicide complex you are talking about, you make a distinction between a suicide complex and a persecution complex. I would call it a Masada complex, and I told Saddam Husayn once

very clearly, to his face: You are like the Israelis. You think you are in a besieged fortress and you have no way out but to die, or to conquer.

I think Saddam Husayn was sincere when he said that he was being persecuted, especially when he had put on military muscles after the war with Iran. He thought people wanted to deflate him somewhat. Of course, he pushed this feeling to extremes, but at the same time I think, I am quite certain, that he really believed it when he said it. When I spoke of a regional security system—once again I stress regional, not the Persian Gulf area—I realized that Saddam Husayn had fears for Iraqi security. This leads us to think that we need to build a system that would guarantee security for all.

[Nay] Pierre Briancon.

[Briancon] Yes. The psychological portrait you draw of Saddam Husayn is certainly the most interesting thing in your book, because there are things we had no idea of before. One can, however, draw partially contradictory lessons from it. On the one hand, you make him out as a great realist, who told you quite early in the negotiations that he knew he would have to leave Kuwait, and on the other hand you present him as a person who, if he has to choose between humiliation and war to the bitter end, will certainly choose war. In light of what has happened since, I would like to ask you two questions: Do you think that for the Soviet Union he is a trump card, and in the long run a lasting ally in the region? Second, do you not think he was humiliated in this war? Finally, do you really think he could be a sort of Iraqi Gorbachev, with the list of reforms he has proposed recently?

[Primakov] Well, first of all I would like to say that we are not playing cards, not in the Middle East, or anywhere else. So it would be wrong, and perhaps indecent to think that Soviet policy could use Saddam Husayn as a trump. All the more so since—I do not want to draw parallels between Soviet politicians and Saddam Husayn. As for Saddam as such, we must be realists, that is what I am saying. I am not saying that he is a realist. It is we who need to be realists and accept the reality of his existence, and the fact that there have been two uprisings, not without external help, which have not been successful, we have to accept this fact and face up to it. This is necessary if we are to find a constructive way out of the current situation.

[Nay] Marc Kravetz.

[Kravetz] Yes, Mr. Primakov, you do not say realist, you say pragmatic about Saddam Husayn. In the three meetings you had with him during the crisis and the war, up to the end, you did not mince your words when you spoke to Saddam Husayn. You described to him in great detail what would happen to him, and what did happen to him. So one has to conclude that he did not listen to you, since he too went to the very end. Now, you often say that he is a man who is both pragmatic and cruel. In the end, is the secret of his staying in power his pragmatism or his cruelty? Isn't the solution in the end to do without him?

[Primakov] The essential thing is that he made errors in his calculations. If I understand correctly, he did not expect that Saudi Arabia would invite the Americans in. He did not quite understand that the (?Kuwaiti) war was well and truly over, and that the Soviet Union would not see the Middle East situation through the prism of the confrontation, nonexistence at the time, between the Soviet Union and the United States. He miscalculated the French position, because he thought France would be more (?distant) from the coalition than it really was. I think he thought he would avoid an armed clash; that is to say, he would avoid an attack. He thought the allies would limit themselves to a military demonstration or manifestation. I do not exclude the possibility, that when I told him point blank, straight to his face, during our first meeting, that the attack would take place, he doubted it. That is the answer to your question why pragmatism is linked with the (?convulsions) of Saddam, with the irrational actions. This is founded on the fact that he wrongly foresaw the developments, he miscalculated the developments.

[Nay] A last question before the commercials. There is a question which everyone is asking now in the West. It is this: Since war is being waged, because Saddam Husayn represented a danger to the region, should we not have gone the whole way and eliminated him?

[Primakov] You know, there was a UN mandate, and in my opinion it was necessary, it is necessary, to act in the framework of the mandate. If one exceeds the mandate and if one defies the United Nations, treating it like a screen, then one can eliminate anyone at all, decide, in a small committee, whom to eliminate, even perhaps people who constitute a danger. I think, though, that if one did that, it would be a return to the jungle.

[Nay] A question from Michel Kolometz.

[Kolometz] Mr. Primakov, now that the war is over and Saddam Husayn is sufficiently diminished militarily not to undertake any other actions, what should we do to prevent other Saddam Husayns from appearing in the region in the future? What should we do for there to be a settlement to prevent this?

[Primakov] That is an excellent question. I think that we are going to move toward the establishment of a regional security system. This system must be universal. It must include all the countries of the region and it must be based on the recognized borders. In this regard it is really crucial to settle the Israeli-Arab problem, with the Palestinian problem at the heart of it. At the same time this system must include certain undertakings on the part of countries outside, including restrictions on the supply of arms, international guarantees, and so on. If one sketches the outlines of this system, the main thing is that this system should be universal. It is impossible to create a security system in which only Iraq is included.

The post-crisis settlement can indeed involve Iraq, but it would not be a security system if it included Iraq alone. In my opinion such a system would be counterproductive.

[Kolometz] Hence that famous link, basically, which you were seeking during the war, between the Israeli-Arab problem and the Gulf problem?

[Primakov] You see, this famous link was put forward by Saddam Husayn in his speech on 12 August, but it was unacceptable as it was a crude linkage. It presumed the need for a withdrawal of all the troops and what might be considered by the international community with regard to this affair, but the settlement in the Gulf zone must all the same give an impetus toward a solution of the other situations of crisis and conflict. This is also clear, and although it may be paradoxical, the war has created a potential for a peaceful settlement. The war has created a certain potential for an Israeli-Palestinian settlement.

[Kolometz] So, it was a beneficial war, a war that had to be waged?

[Primakov] No, in fact I have written a book entitled, in Russian, "A War Which Could Have Been Avoided." With regard to this, I would like to tell you, Catherine Nay, that the Soviet Union has never proposed the aim of avoiding the unconditional, total, and immediate withdrawal from Kuwait. As far as we Soviets were concerned, that was the objective, and we took part in the solution of that task, but it was a question of the means to be used. In our opinion, political means could have been used to avoid military actions which would lead, which did lead to consequences—Kurdish victims and all that, all this disarray in Iraq; those are the consequences of that action.

[Nay] Pierre Briancon.

[Briancon] I wonder about the portion of bitterness which (?appears) in your book. You mentioned its Russian title a short while ago. The French title is "History of a Secret Negotiation." It is, in a way, the story of a negotiation which could have succeeded but failed. In the USSR you have embodied the line of those who reproached former Minister Shevardnadze, which was considered a bit too exclusively focused on U.S. policy. Has that situation changed since the end of the war? One may have the impression that the USSR is still dragging behind, is standing slightly behind the United States in the definition of a policy for the Middle East. My question is an auxiliary one and a very factual one: Can you tell us whether or not Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh is going to Israel shortly?

[Primakov] To your first question I will say that in the Soviet Union and in France, because I know public opinion in France, many have thought that French policy was rather dragging behind, following in the wake of the United States; in other words, the criticism is not...[changes thought] You know, I believe that it is a roundtable discussion we are having here and I can also say something to you about my ideas, my thoughts. With regard to the criticism in our own country, there were indeed many who thought the Soviet Union should steer a course to avoid the war. There were opinions, demonstrations, to this effect, but that in no way means that we were in confrontation with the United States, because the United States knew in detail of everything I did myself on Gorbachev's instructions. We did nothing behind the back of the United States, and President Mitterrand and the French leaders were also up to date on our efforts.

[Nay] Pierre Briancon.

[Briancon] There is a major figure missing from your book, all the same—it is Eduard Shevardnadze. No one is any longer unaware that the mere fact of your appointment as special envoy and then the policy which you followed in the Gulf crisis had a varied reception—and I am putting it mildly—particularly from the professional diplomats and the Eduard Shevardnadze school—I am deliberately simplifying here. One has the impression that his conflict...[changes thought] One learns many things about Baghdad and Saddam Husayn, and much less about Moscow, Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, and Primakov in your book, so could you perhaps enlighten us about this aspect of things?

[Primakov] If the Seuil Publishing House agrees to let me add to my book or publish another book, then I will very willingly write about what happened, about what is happening, in the Soviet Union, but this book is devoted to my missions to Baghdad, so I do not see why you make this complaint. With regard to Mr. Shevardnadze I cannot say that we disagreed on strategy—no, absolutely not. We were pursuing the same aims. Shevardnadze and I applied the same political line indicated by the president of the Soviet Union and our collegial leadership. If you have noticed that Shevardnadze is absent I will not say...[changes thought] I write in the book that before my second trip the president entrusted me, together with the foreign minister, with making proposals. No one was left out. After my trips I had very long conversations with the foreign minister—I gave him my suggestions and he gave me his own ideas, so what you are saying is not really very fair.

[Nay] Marc Kravetz.

[Kravetz] Mr. Primakov, I would like you to tell us a little more about this question of regional security. The Kuwait war was waged in the name of the law. One rather has the impression that the post-war period all the same brings us to the worst moment of Realpolitik—basically, we allowed Saddam Husayn to massacre the Shiites in the south and the Kurds in the north in the name of stability, or a kind of regional peace, and now we see the appalling consequences. In the past all these situations were generally speaking also the fruit of East-West rivalry—do you think that today we can build this regional security, not just with Realpolitik, but with a little more morality, and that, for example, a solution to

the Kurdish problem could serve as an example of what the new regional and international relationships would be in the Middle East?

[Primakov] In general I consider that no international security system can be built by setting morals aside, even just in the balance of forces, as happened at the time. Of course, the balance of forces is an indispensable condition for any security system, but leaving out moral values is impossible at the present time. It seems to me that your question is a judicious one. The international community could not ignore what is happening in the Kurdish regions, but it is another matter to play the Kurdish card in global policy—if we are just seeking the autonomy of the Kurds, then I am in favor of it.

[Nay] A question from Michel Kolometz.

[Kolometz] Mr. Primakov, I would like to repeat a question which Pierre Briancon asked you just now and to which you did not reply. Is Soviet Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh shortly going to Israel, as is being said, and if he goes there, will it be to defend the U.S. plan, the Baker plan for a settlement to the Middle East conflict?

[Primakov] I think that if he goes to Israel—and I myself think he will go there—he will go not to defend this or that plan of others but to seek elements of a settlement. It is impossible to exclude either the Palestinians or the Israelis and if the Soviet Union tries to play a positive role, there is nothing wrong with stopping off in Israel while he is in the Middle East.

[Nay] Michel Kolometz.

[Kolometz] In your opinion, has the Baker plan got off to a good start? At this moment, are we advancing, and can one be optimistic as President Bush was yesterday?

[Primakov] It seems to me that it has already taken off, but it is undergoing development, a positive development, because Baker has a different attitude with regard, for example, to European participation in the peace process in the Middle East. I think this is a really positive thing compared with the structures he had thought out originally. Second, it seems to me that the secretary of state is looking at the Palestinian problem in a more positive way, in order not to relegate it to the background. If these tendencies develop the Baker plan can play its part.

[Nay] Marc Kravetz.

[Kravetz] The Soviet Union has had two big allies in the Middle East in recent years. They were Iraq and Syria. They were at war with each other in the Gulf war. It is rather difficult to see now where the Soviet Union stands. What role can the Soviet Union play and in the settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict?

[Primakov] To tell the truth, I do not see any connection between the fact that Syria fought against Iraq and the role of the Soviet Union in the Israeli-Arab conflict. These are different things. The Soviet Union is interested in stabilizing the situation in the Middle East. In this field our interests coincide with U.S. interests, with the interests of the other countries. We have to harmonize our actions, coordinate our political lines, rectify each other's positions of one another. For this reason contacts are necessary with the Americans, with the French, and with the others.

[Kravetz] Precisely. Egypt, or rather the United States, managed to lead Egypt to holding direct negotiations with Israel. Is it conceivable that the Soviet Union could do the same with Syria, for example?

[Primakov] I do not think you would tell Egypt it had been led to negotiations by someone. It would be offended. One should not expect the Soviet Union to lead someone to these negotiations like cattle. Naturally, we will react. We want an Israeli-Arab settlement. But if we do not begin with the Palestinian problem, if we do not begin by outlining the framework in which this problem could be resolved, it is hard to imagine that success will be achieved.

[Kravetz] For example, your Syrian friends, Mr. Primakov, insist that at the regional conference that is envisaged there should be UN representation. We know this is probably a sticking point for Israel. Are you going to try and convince the Syrians not to insist on it? What are you going to do and what is your position on this?

[Primakov] I think it is rather the Americans who should be persuading the Israelis to ensure that the PLO should take part in this process, because the PLO is a reality. The policy carried out by the PLO is a reality, it is reality presented to the Palestinian population. It is not by chance that when the representatives of the Palestinians inside come to see Mr. Baker they start with the fact that their visit has been authorized by the PLO. Does that mean anything?

[Nay] Pierre Briancon.

[Briancon] On that subject I would like to ask you how you evaluate the role that the PLO, and in particular Yasir 'Arafat, could play in a future settlement, in the sense that both the organization and its chairman appear considerably weakened by the outcome of the war?

[Primakov] Well, I think that today the PLO will adopt more conciliatory positions in looking for compromise. But if Israel shows too much inflexibility, that will repel the Palestinians.

[Nay] Michel Kolometz.

[Kolometz] Do you not feel that for some progress to be made in the Middle East there is basically a need for a new generation, somewhat similar to the way in which there was a new generation in the Soviet Union when Mr. Gorbachev came along?

[Primakov] Well, according to all scientific data, since 1948 there have already been several generations.

[commercial break]

[Nay] A question from Pierre Briancon.

[Briancon] The whole mission which you describe in detail in this book took place—and this is largely a coincidence—at a time when in the Soviet Union internal political life was marked by what some people have called the adoption of a more conservative hard line, or a turn to the right by Mr. Gorbachev. I would like to ask you a question to link the question of the Gulf and the internal situation in the USSR: How have your relations with the Army developed, and how did you see the position of the Soviet Army and the generals in this matter of the Gulf war?

[Primakov] Well, first I must say that I was a professional journalist for 15 years and you see a turn to the right, the strengthening of conservatives in the Soviet Union without asking me my opinion.

Indeed there is now a strengthening of conservative elements on the right and on the left, who resemble each other, but I would not say there is a slide towards the right in the Soviet leadership, because that would not be fair. Simply, our mistakes were that we did not move in three areas at once. That is to say, the area of a mixed economy, of a new union, and of strengthening the constitution and the existing legislation. This last factor is completely indispensable. You know that from your own experience. If there were only this last factor, without any movement toward a market economy, toward a renewed union, you would be right: it could have been a turn to the right. So if we take all three areas at once, perestroyka continues. If one speaks of the military, they have well-founded, well-justified ideas which one has to take into account. The Warsaw Pact has been eliminated, has been liquidated, but NATO exists: the depth of defense has been considerably reduced and the military consider that these new elements have to be taken into consideration. It is not the military, however, it is not these considerations that determine the general policy of the Soviet Union, which is still based on reasonable sufficiency for defense.

[Nay] Michel Kolometz.

[Kolometz] Mr. Gorbachev recently promised that there will soon be a new constitution in the Soviet Union. Does this mean that there will soon be an election by universal suffrage for the president of the Soviet Union and that Mr. Gorbachev will be a candidate in that election?

[Primakov] As far as the fact that this implies the replacement of the elected structures is concerned, that is already a fact. It was part of the agreement signed by Mr. Gorbachev and the leaders of nine republics, the nine republics which want to make up this renewed union and which comprise 93 percent of the population and 97 percent of the territory. I think that a change of structure, including the president, will take place, but after the new constitution comes into force.

[Nay] Pierre Briancon.

[Briancon] The agreement you mention, which is called here in shorthand the Gorbachev-Yeltsin agreement, contains a relatively liberal sentence about the six republics which did not sign the agreement and which are torn by independence claims. Do you think—I am really asking your opinion, and your personal vision—that these six republics will in the future, perhaps in the long-term future, no longer be part of the Soviet Union? What is your personal vision of the future in this area?

[Primakov] First, it is the business of those republics, whether they belong to the Soviet Union or not. I think, however, they can leave the Soviet Union by a civilized path; that is to say, under the existing legislation, which envisages five years of reflection—it is not 100 years, like Hong Kong, but just five years. It seems to me that it is a civilized way, based on negotiations. Who could oppose it? Otherwise you must have a referendum.

[Nay] Pierre Briancon again.

[Briancon] So, if you believe, as you said, that Soviet policy, or Gorbachev's policy, has not changed noticeably over these last six months, do you think the agreement between Gorbachev and Yeltsin is an ordinary, normal agreement which comes within the framework of internal policy, or does it mark a turning point and a new phase in the country's political life, with the Russian and Soviet leaders working together?

[Primakov] I would really like to think that it is a turning point.

[Briancon] What makes you think it might not be one?

[Primakov] I repeat once again: I would really like it to be a turning point because I cannot see any other way out of the current situation. Of course, the significance of this agreement between the union, the center, and Russia is very important, but you must bear in mind that it has been done in a specific context; that is, the agreement has been signed by all the republics which want to remain within the union, and these republics make up by far the largest part of Soviet population and territory.

[Nay] Michel Kolometz.

[Kolometz] What will be the strongest thing in the Soviet Union tomorrow? Will it be the political links between the republics, or the economic ones. What will remain?

[Primakov] It seems to me that the union must remain—a sort of supra-republican structure, which will have certain functions, certain powers, which should cover defense, the Armed Forces, the defense industry. Incidentally, the West should have a very great interest in seeing that the Soviet Armed Forces are not dispersed among the republics.

The energy industry, transport, and communications also come into the realm of the union. As for the economy, there should be a single space for the economy.

It is quite clear that for the development of the productive forces there are two necessary conditions: a single economic space, plus supranational, or suprarepublican structures in the case of the Soviet Union.

[Nay] Pierre Briancon.

[Briancon] You were one of the top leaders of the Communist Party for a long time. You were a candidate member of the Politburo. I would like to know your evaluation of what is going on in the Soviet Communist Party now. Is it going to the dogs, is it collapsing, is it remaking itself? Do you think this party can last and renew itself? What was your evaluation of what happened in the Central Committee plenum this week, with the attacks on Gorbachev, and Mikhail Gorbachev's threat to resign from his post as general secretary?

[Primakov] As for my membership of the Politburo, I was only in it for a very short time, but I will try to answer your question.

The Communist Party is a real force in the Soviet Union. It does after all represent 16 million people, and it has kept its position in most areas. We are very much committed to the party being the instrument of perestroyka, and not the opposite. So we consider that it is very important for the party, for the country, but equally for Gorbachev, that he keep his post as general secretary.

[Nay] A last question from Pierre Briancon.

[Briancon] How do you evaluate the fact that the conservatives attacked Gorbachev strongly, and that Gorbachev threatened to resign during this plenum?

[Primakov] Yes, that did happen. These are things that are widely known. But it must be added that 400 people, if your press is right, voted to keep him in the post of general secretary, and there were only a few who opposed it.

[Nay] A last question. Very short.

[Briancon] To close the circle, Mr. Primakov. There is still a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and Iraq, in force since 1972. What does this mean today, this treaty with Iraq? What are you going to do with Saddam Husayn now, finally?

[Primakov] What are we going to do with Saddam Husayn? I do not accept this question. It is the Iraqi people that will have to do or not do something. It is not a propaganda reply, it is a political reply to your question. As far as the treaty is concerned, we have not infringed it on our side, and we would be very pleased if Iraq, in its actions, would at least inform us of its actions, as demanded by the treaty. It did not do this either during the Iran-Iraq war or during the last war.

[Nay] If you agree, Mr. Primakov, that will be the last word in this program. Thank you for accepting our invitation. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Baker's Middle East Visit

LD2904183291 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Oleg Grechkov commentary: "The Near East After Baker's Visit"]

[Excerpts] The U.S. secretary's visit to the Near East which ended recently most conservative observers were pessimistic about the results. Many feared that James Baker's idea of a regional conference would clash with the persistent rejectionist position of Yitzhaq Shamir's government.

However, last Friday it transpired that this pessimism was unjustified because the Israeli Foreign Ministry made a statement that can be surprisingly assessed as firm progress. A Foreign Ministry representative announced Israel's agreement to convene a regional conference under U.S. and Soviet auspices. It should be mentioned that Tel Aviv insisted before that only a preparatory session of the regional conference could be held under UN patronage, and would be followed immediately by direct talks between Israel and Arab participants. This position was unacceptable to most of Israel's neighbors.

The Israeli Foreign Ministry statement on Friday gave some hope for future progress, but as soon as the pessimistic observers started to rejoice over their mistakes, this grain of hope disappeared as quickly as it appeared. On Sunday Israeli Prime Minister Shamir cancelled previous Foreign Ministry statements and Foreign Minister David Levi personally. Shamir spoke on the radio and affirmed point by point the previous position of his cabinet: no to periodically convening a regional conference; no to the permanent patronage of the Soviet Union and the United States; and no to the title, regional conference, itself. No and, once again, no.

In light of this negation a serious scandal is raging in Israel. David Levi accused Yitzhaq Shamir of following an incorrect line and of effectively undermining Baker's mission. It must be mentioned that yesterday he left the government meeting in protest of this. Once again a hot debate raged inside the ruling coalition on foreign policy issues. [passage omitted]

According to echos, yet another move right by Yitzhaq Shamir has caused disappointment not only in the Arab world, but also in Europe and the United States. The Near East peace process has become dependent on disputes between parties and on internal interparty quarrels in the Israeli Government. What gives hope in this situation is the determination of many in the international community to exert further efforts to find peace in the region.

In fact, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd begins a tour of the Near East, and it is expected that Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh will start a tour of the region soon. The Swiss Foreign Ministry said

that if the talks yield success on convening a regional conference, Geneva would be prepared to welcome this gathering. And news from the Arab capitals says that they too are convinced that the settlement process will be reactivated from stagnation by the common efforts of the international community. It seems that these hopes are well-founded because time is not on the side of those in the Israeli Government who are still banking on confrontation.

Western Military Presence in Iraq Criticized

PM3004094391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 91 Second Edition p 6

["Editorial Commentary": "Trouble Brewing Again?"]

[Text] Light is at last visible, it seems, at the end of the dark tunnel of the Kurdish problem.

Last Wednesday an accord was reached at a meeting between Kurdish organizations' representatives and President S. Husayn on granting the Iraqi Kurds greater autonomy. At a press conference in Baghdad, Jalal Talabani, leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, said that there will be no obstacles to the implementation of the 11 March 1970 declaration, which envisages granting the Iraqi Kurds autonomy, and that there will be another round of talks to work out the details of the implementation of the accord.

So a real, major step has been taken toward not only restoring peace and security in northern Iraq and saving hundreds of thousands of Iraqi Kurds who are in dire straits, but also solving the chronic Kurdish problem as a whole.

Meanwhile, food, medicines, tents, and blankets continue to arrive through international channels at the makeshift centers to aid the 1.5 million Kurdish refugees both on the territory of neighboring Iran and Turkey and in northern Iraq. There is the prospect of the establishment of safe havens for Kurdish refugees under UN auspices. This idea was enthusiastically supported by the organization's secretary general, Perez de Cuellar, and there is an accord in principle on the subject involving the United Nations, the United States, Britain, France, and Iraq. Intensive contacts aimed at implementing it are continuing.

Unfortunately, the presence of U.S. and other Western servicemen in the vicinity of the refugee camps introduces a serious element of tension. As long as they were putting up tents and distributing food their humanitarian role was clear. But when they started to establish gun positions and perform military police functions, new problems began to emerge. As is well known, Baghdad regarded the introduction of the forces of the United States and other states into the north of the country as a "serious and unwarranted infringement of Iraq's sovereignty." In turn, President G. Bush said that the presence of Iraqi forces patrolling areas of Northern Iraq where refugee camps are being set up is a "serious problem and is hampering efforts to persuade the Kurdish refugees to return to their villages." It is a very short step from this position to overt saber-rattling and then to the use of weapons, and in the situation that prevails in the region this could happen with the utmost rapidity. Is this not indicated by the news agency reports that allied field commanders in the area are issuing ultimatums to Iraqi troops to leave a number of places occupied by them near the border with Iran and Turkey? Trouble is obviously brewing again.

Clearly, threatening to use force is not the best way to help the refugees. It is scarcely the best way either to promote a settlement of the Kurdish question, particularly against the backdrop of the success achieved at the talks in Baghdad and the vigorous efforts by the UN secretary general.

West Europe

Pavlov, Belgium's Martens Discuss Economic Ties

LD2904135591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1216 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Brussels, 29 Apr (TASS)—A meeting took place here today between USSR Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov and Belgian Prime Minister W. Martens. During the conversation, mutual satisfaction was expressed at the state of and prospects for bilateral political dialogue. The desire of the USSR and Belgium to actively cooperate in the cause of building a new European order was pointed out. V.S. Pavlov talked about the political and economic situation in the USSR, and about the measures the Soviet leadership has adopted for stabilization and to extricate the economy from crisis. He stressed the importance of the joint statement by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and the leaders of the Union republics, which opens the way to establishing economic ties on the basis of taking balanced account of the interests of the republics and the center. Use of the opportunities of foreign economic ties, including attracting foreign investments, is an inalienable part of the anti-crisis program.

In his turn, W. Martens declared the interest Belgians have in a normalization of the situation in the Soviet Union, and in stabilization of the socioeconomic and political situation and interethnic relations. Together with its EC partners, he said, Belgium will render assistance to the process of reforms in the USSR, seeing them as the guarantee of success in the course embarked upon by Europeans for creation of a peaceful and strong [solidarnyy] community of peoples of the continent. The Belgian Government is ready to back the interest of Belgian business circles in developing economic cooperation in the Soviet Union.

Afanasyevskiy, USSR ambassador in Belgium, took part in the meeting.

Pavlov on Talks With Delors

LD3004102191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2125 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Report by Brussels correspondent K. Mazheyka on USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov's visit to Brussels; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpts] Though unofficial, the visit of the Soviet premier is the first at the cabinet level. [passage omitted]

Talks with EC Chairman Jacques Delors were devoted to problems of implementing the agreement on trade, commercial, and economic cooperation with this major international association:

[Begin Pavlov recording] This is not at all an ordinary event for us, because I think it is fundamentally important for us to master a new style of relations now if we really want to be members of the new Europe, not just on paper but in reality. Look at the way things are done in our country. When certain agreements and accords are reached at the high political level of the country's leadership, we then start to get bogged down with all those accords, which, in general, are accompanied by trips of very many delegations and meetings at various levels, usually quite high, at the level of ministries, departments and major associations. There is no progress. I think with regard to this we must understand at last that, if we really want to develop market economy, we, too, must talk in the West as those real people who make decisions. [end recording]

Latin America & Caribbean

Specialist Discusses Economic Ties With Cuba

PY2904005491 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0130 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Interview with Cuban specialist (Yevgeniy Askasia) by correspondent Viktor Kuzmin. (Askasia) responses in Russian fading into Spanish translation]

[Text] Soviet-Cuban economic relations are facing some problems following the decision to use hard currency in foreign trade operations as of 1 January.

Radio Moscow correspondent Viktor Kuzmin has asked (Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich Askasia), a prominent specialist on the Soviet-Cuban Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, to comment on this situation.

[Begin recording] [Kuzmin] In your opinion what were the main causes of problems for Soviet-Cuban economic relations in the first quarter of 1991?

[(Askasia)] As is known, late last year the USSR and Cuba signed an agreement on economic and commercial cooperation for 1991. Contrary to previous agreements, this accord took into account new conditions relating to the use of hard currency in our bilateral commercial operations in keeping with prices on the international market and based on difficulties between our countries as far as foreign currency is concerned. We are maintaining commercial relations through compensatory adjustments; that is, clearing [preceding word in English].

However, we have encountered some problems since early this year. I will honestly say that Cuban-Soviet trade relations are facing some problems. One of the problems is tied to the matter of payment since Soviet enterprises are not very interested in exporting their products to Cuba. It is more advantageous for them to obtain foreign currency by exporting their products to other countries. This situation also occurred in trade between the USSR and East European countries. This fact makes it difficult to comply with commitments with regard to the supply of Soviet products to Cuba and the transport of products that were largely taken to that country in Soviet vessels.

In sum, during the first quarter Cuba just supplied fuel and raw sugar to the Soviet Union. This situation created a great deal of unrest among our Cuban comrades and in the Soviet Union. The two governments—through their special economic organizations—are trying to solve this irregular situation.

[Kuzmin] Is there a solution to this problem?

[(Askasia)] Early this year the USSR Council of Ministers approved a resolution that to a certain extent, is helping to overcome the problem or at least to reduce it. Measures were adopted so that companies manufacturing export products can show interest in trade that does not involve only foreign currency. One point in the resolution refers to supply discipline; for example, it was clearly stated that supply by Soviet export enterprises is included in the category of state supply. In other words, the suppliers promise to comply with their export commitments included in the state plan.

I want to stress other points of the resolution. In view of the difference in prices on the international market and our wholesale prices and those used in signing the accords, it becomes necessary to acquire additional financing. This means complementary sources are necessary. In this regard, a special fund regulating foreign trade operations will be created. This will help overcome the differences that may exist in prices.

Among the measures that will encourage our foreign economic relations, we can include the decision to extend tax payments on exports in keeping with intergovernmental commitments, among other points. [end recording]

At the end of the interview (Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich) said it is expected that the measures included in the resolution will allow progress in solving Cuban-Soviet economic trade relations.

Political & Social

'Confidential' Memorandum to Joint Statement

LD2904173591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1155 GMT 29 Apr 91

[From the press review]

[Text] As KOMMERSANT learned from unofficial, but, according to the editorial office, quite reliable sources, during the meeting of the USSR president and the leaders of nine Union republics on 23 April in Novogarevo near Moscow, that not only was a joint statement signed, but a confidential memorandum was also concluded which gave specific details of the agreement between the nine leaders and the USSR president, and outlined their spheres of influence. This document contains a number of specific pledges that Gorbachev gave to the representatives of the republics. It was not made public after the meeting. KOMMERSANT carries, however, a detailed account of the document, all the points of which are so important that it makes sense to quote them in full.

Gorbachev recognized the Union republics' status as that of sovereign states and guaranteed noninterference by the center in their internal affairs, as well as respect for the republics' sovereignity. Gorbachev recognized the supremacy of republican legislation over Union legislation as far as all issues pertaining to the republics' internal affairs are concerned. In turn, the republics guaranteed strict observation of the Union laws in those spheres not covered by the republican legislation. The date for signing the Union treaty was moved from May or June to July, after the elections of the Russian president. The text of the Union treaty will be prepared on the basis of the republics' proposals. If the center refuses to take part in signing the Union treaty, the republics receive the right to sign the treaty independently and, also independently, to form new bodies of central administration. The relations with the republics who have not signed the Union treaty will be built, in all respects, in the same way as relations with foreign states. After signing the Union treaty and adopting a new Constitution, the central legislative bodies and the president will be elected anew.

So what are the reasons for such an abrupt move on Gorbachev's part toward joint work and cooperation with the republics? The majority of experts believe that this was the sole option left to the president in the current situation. This solution makes it possible for him to make peace with the left-wingers, dissociate himself from the right-wingers, and to reach agreement with the republics—that is, to kill three birds at once, and in a wholly constitutional way at that: namely, to accept all the conditions of the republics and to sign absolutely any confederative Union treaty. Signing any bit of paper at all, as long as it is called a Union treaty, means the automatic abolition of the present Union Congress of People's Deputies, and the USSR Supreme Soviet, together with Lukyanov, Yanayev, Pavlov, and the rest; unless, of course, the new Union treaty provides for their existence.

The essence of the memorandum unequivocably recognizes the political reality that the Union republics are sovereign states with all the ensuing consequences, the essence of which effectively boils down to the fact that real power in the country is transferred not de facto but de jure to the republican level, which should indeed be laid down in the new variant of the Union treaty. It emerges from the memorandum, however, that this should also be drawn up at the republican level. A brief legal footnote here: From the point of view of constitutional law, the Union treaty is a law of a higher order than the USSR Constitution. It lays down the principles on which the Union is based. The Constitution merely spells them out in detail.

Since the new Union treaty automatically annuls the previous, sole treaty of 1922, the current Union Constitution, which is based on that, is also annulled, and that means the structure of Union power also, [words indistinct] of which from the moment the new Union treaty comes into force, wholly depends on its participants. After this both the democrats and the republics will make peace. Representatives of the Union authorities can shout outside the confines of parliament as much as they like. Pamyat is indeed shouting.

Now to the second part of the document's contents. Until the signing of the Union treaty, the center and the republics are intending to consult each other on their actions while working out and adopting new legislation. The republics adopt their own programs of going over to market relations. The center is only entitled to a role of coordinator of the subjects' activities within the framework of a single economic zone, and even then only within the limits of the powers granted to it. A division of property between the center and the republics will be conducted, and no hindrances will be made to the enterprises that wish to go over into the republics' jurisdiction.

The emergency Union budget will be worked out after emergency budgets of the Union republics, and on their basis. The republics will receive the right independently to use foreign currency earned on their territory. All decisions concerning the issuance of money will be taken up by agreement with republican leadership. The five-percent sales tax will be gradually abolished. The republics receive a right to general licensing of their products' exports. In a week, President Gorbachev will submit information on the USSR's external debt to the nine leaders participating in the talks. At a number of enterprises as well as in some industries, a special work system could be introduced, involving the implementation of a moratorium on economic demands.

So that is the document. The KOMMERSANT newspaper commentary examines the reasons why the president embarked on signing the document. In the opinion

of observer Viktor Lvov and Maksim Sokolov these are pretty transparent. There are quite simply no other means of moving the situation from its impasse. The right-wing tendency, harsh measures, have yielded no results whatsoever, to put it mildly. The concentration of power in the hands of the president collided head-on with civil disobedience at the legislative level. The economic reforms only caused strikes; credits have not altered the situation in the market. The talks with Japan were unproductinve.

As for the republican leaders, first and foremost Yeltsin, their position was better before the political jamboree in Moscow Oblast, but only from a certain point of view. The conflict with the center has recently grown from the stage of a governmental struggle for power to the stage of general problems, basically hampering normal development.

Thus the fact of the signing of a confidential memorandum in its present form proceeded from the logic of the development of events. Experts are pretty optimistic in their evaluation of the prospects for the agreement; in particular, because the document is wholly constitutional. Gorbachev has concentrated in his hands more than enough powers to sign it. If the report of the memorandum which KOMMERSANT has received accords with reality, then the experts believe that it is hardly possible to evaluate immediately the importance and consequences of this document. Undoubtedly, the very fact can easily be interpreted like this: That Gorbachev has started to dissociate himself from the CPSU, the Union body of deputies, and the Cabinet of Ministers. In other words, he has taken the first step toward recognizing [words indistinct] the three most unpopular public institutions as candidates for pensioning off, that is, moving toward compromise and sharing power with the republics.

Although it is still too soon to make any final conclusions as to whom the president will share power with—the left or the right—for the simple reason that the memorandum essentially signifies a change in practically the entire structure of the state, and no less serious changes in the system of interaction between the political forces in the country, including a fundamental reorganization of the structure of central authority—and, as was said above, a change in the Constitution. [sentence as heard]

'Myths' About Gorbachev 'Concessions' Countered

LD3004135391 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 30 Apr 91

[By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kolesnikov]

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—The joint statement by the Soviet president and leaders of nine republics about urgent measures to stabilise the situation in the country and overcome the crisis has become the hottest topic in the Soviet Union and abroad.

Many rightly regard this document as an encouraging sign that a fresh impetus has been given to reforms. Joint efforts by the centre and republics to take anti-crisis measures and decrease social tension can and must also serve as a basis for political accord in the country.

There are forces in our troubled society that try [to] question and play down the importance of the agreement. They are ultra-radicals of various stripes as a rule.

Such attitudes were clearly manifested at a rally in Zelenograd which, due to activity by groups of militants, achieved notoriety as a bulwark of anti-presidential radicalism.

Prominent radical Telman Gdlyan criticised Boris Yeltsin for agreeing with Mikhail Gorbachev.

In a speech at a plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Professor Aleksey Sergeyev, who personifies the ultra-left positions in the Communist Party, expressed displeasure with the "Gorbachev-Yeltsin line", too.

Extremist policies are always characterised by an unwillingness to cooperate, engage in constructive work and discard ideological differences. The joint statement would implement the political centrism that is vigorously pursued by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Not only activists of "Democratic Russia" and orthodox communists find it difficult to grasp the meaning of this political line. Western commentaries about the joint statement quite often repeat myths about politics in the USSR, including a myth about "Gorbachev's concessions to republics". These "concessions" were mentioned in numerous commentaries on the closed-door meeting between the Soviet president and leaders of nine republics.

And what is described as the biggest concession? The Union's recognition of the sovereignty of republics and of the necessity of negotiations before a treaty about a union of sovereign states can be formed.

It is unnecessary to quote from the draft Union treaty to see that these "concessions" were actually contained in that document, published six weeks ago.

The recognition of Union republics as sovereign states forms the basis of the strategy for concluding a Union treaty.

Conservatives here [are] a definite presence in politics. But the president's attitude to the treaty between sovereign states was constantly expressed with utter clarity.

Another myth is that by signing the joint statement, Gorbachev "returned" to the folds of democracy and abandoned "right-wing" positions that he has allegedly held since the end of last year. This myth has been rehashed so often in recent months that it has become self-evident to many people.

But has there been a turn to the right? Need Gorbachev return to ground he has never abandoned? The foreign press now views the slogan of centrism as the Soviet president's parting with conservatives. But just a month ago the same political formula was presented as "a turn to the right" and "an alliance with conservative forces".

One should abandon propaganda stereotypes that have been imposed on people by political enemies and take an unbiased look at the spectrum of political forces. Then it will be easy to see the difference between the centre's realistic policy aimed at reforms and unconstructive elements on the "right" and "left" who do nothing to promote changes.

Recent events show clearly that there has not been a "turn to the right" in the president's policy. To the contrary, extremist conservatism and extremist radicalism of "democratic" kind have always been alien to Gorbachev's positions and policies.

The president admitted that it was not easy to coordinate the points of the joint statement, but it will be even more difficult to implement the agreement. Deplorably, there are enough objective and subjective reasons for that. But the most important step has been taken. Goodwill towards accord is what the Soviet Union and the whole world need now.

Commentary Examines 'Accords' With Republics

LD2904174491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1350 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Commentary by Aleksandr Zelenkov of the All-Russian Television and Radio Company]

[Text] Today's PRAVDA publishes on its front page a commentary on the joint statement by the USSR president and the leaders of nine Union republics. Strictly speaking, PRAVDA comments not on the whole statement but merely on its first point, which states the need for the restoration of constitutional order and compliance with existing legislation. Since the statement does not clarify this point, PRAVDA gives its own interpretation of it. The newspaper believes that the cause of many of our troubles lies in the fact that—I cite PRAVDA—shortsighted politicians have placed local laws above Union laws and immediately everything started getting stuck and the discord began. End quote. So the paper sees the need to restore constitutional order as the need for the republics to recognize the supremacy of Union-level legislation, and it is trying subsequently to instill this in its readers.

I do not think, however, that this is quite the way things stand. The leaders of Russia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and the other republics, as we know, are not going to renounce their declarations of sovereignty. And these declarations, in one form or other, establish the supremacy of republican over Union legislation. If Yeltsin and the leaders of the other republics have placed their signatures to the joint statement, this means that Gorbachev gave them guarantees of the recognition of republican sovereignty. It cannot be otherwise.

This was indirectly confirmed by Boris Yeltsin, who stated that apart from the joint statement, the republics' leaders also won from Gorbachev a series of accords. There is so far no official information on the essence of these accords. But today, the weekly KOMMERSANT published an account of a secret memorandum which, according to the weekly's information, was signed by the big ten at the same time as the joint statement.

Let me cite KOMMERSANT: Gorbachev recognized the supremacy of republican legislation over Union legislation as far as all issues pertaining to the republics' internal affairs are concerned. In their turn, the republics guaranteed strict observance of the Union laws in the spheres not covered by the republican legislation. The date of signing the Union treaty was moved from May or June to July, after the elections of the Russian president. The text of the Union treaty will be prepared on the basis of the republics' proposals. End quote.

If the information published by KOMMERSANT is true, then the point in the statement by the ten about the need for strict compliance with existing laws acquires a clear and completely specific meaning, but not that which the PRAVDA newspaper today tried to give this point.

CPSU Plenum Resolution on Gorbachev Program

CM30040891 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

['Text' of resolution issued by the joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission "On the Situation in the Country and Ways of Extricating the Economy From the Crisis", issued in Moscow on 29 April]

[Text]

I

The joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Control Commission notes that the development of events in the country is becoming extremely dangerous and critical for the destiny of the Soviet people, of the Union, and of socialism. An unprecedented "war of laws" has been unleashed in the country, the destruction of economic links of many years' standing is under way, and a breakdown in the financial system is in evidence. The population's standard of living is declining sharply. People are experiencing a lack of confidence in the future, they are embittered, and trust both in the policies of the center and in the local organs of power is falling. The situation is fraught with social explosion.

Those taking part in the plenum consider that the causes of these negative phenomena in society lie both in the legacy of the past, in the difficulties and diversity of the

tasks being tackled by the country, and in the errors that have been made during their implementation. The contradictory development of political processes has had a destabilizing effect on the course of socioeconomic transformations. A prompt assessment was not made of the manifestations of nationalism and separatism which have led to interethnic conflicts.

There is among communists a growing dissatisfaction with the situation in the CPSU, and well-grounded demands are being made for the leading organs of the party to act more resolutely and to determine with the participation of party organizations ways and means of implementing the political course of the 28th CPSU congress, and to elaborate effective measures for overcoming the crisis in the economy.

The characteristic feature of the present time is an increasing reliance by antisocialist forces on unparliamentary methods of struggle. Making use of the difficulties and dissatisfaction of the people, they are pushing them toward strikes and hunger strikes under political slogans, and toward anticonstitutional actions against lawfully elected bodies of power. A deliberate discrediting of the Army, and of state security and law and order bodies is being conducted.

One must not fail to take into account the presence of conservative sentiments in society and aspirations to restore the system of administrative command.

The Central Committee and the Central Control Commission plenum supports the joint statement of the USSR president and the leaders of nine Union republics on urgent measures for stabilizing the situation in the country and overcoming the crisis. We are urgently appealing to soviets of all levels, to all political and public forces to use their powers and influence for consistent implementation of this coordinated strategy. We are appealing to communists, to all citizens of Armenia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, and Estonia to join in a common movement which aims to improve the sociopolitical situation and to find the way out of the economic crisis. We are calling on the authorities of these republics to weigh all possible consequences of leaving the USSR.

The time has come for joint vigorous actions of all who cherish the country's future, the honor and dignity of people, and prosperity in every home. The situation which has come about dictates the need to search for ways of public accord, to establish civil peace, and to renounce confrontation and political ambitions.

II

1. The joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Control Commission reaffirms the party's adherence to perestroyka as the course for renewal of society and for the assertion of democratic values and social justice within the framework of the socialist choice.

The plenum emphasizes that, with the aim of averting the catastrophe which is ripening, it is vitally important:

—to sign the Union treaty on the basis of the results of the nationwide referendum on the preservation of the USSR;

—to restore constitutional order and respect for law in the country;

—that the USSR president, the supreme bodies of state power of the Union and of the republics, and local soviets of people's deputies energetically employ all of their powers to extricate the country from crisis.

2. The plenum calls on party organizations to resolutely oppose, within the framework of constitutional norms and taking into account the sovereignty of a republic, all forces which destroy the unity of the USSR and which are in a number of cases reviving administrative-command, or sometimes even totalitarian, structures at the republican level.

While recognizing the need for open debate and political dialogue with all sociopolitical movements and parties, the plenum considers that the discussion of problems of change in the arrangement and functioning of state structures should be effected by the organs of power legally elected by the people and by the methods defined by the existing norms of law.

III

1. The joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission supports the efforts of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers to extricate the economy out of the crisis and holds the view that the main directions of the government's anticrisis actions, set out in the report by USSR Prime Minister Comrade V.S. Pavlov, are aimed at restoring the controllability of the economy and the stabilization of the national economy, and that they create the preconditions for the transition to market relations.

At the same time, the plenum is in favor of further improving the government's anticrisis program so that it may correspond more to the interests of the working people, of working out and implementing a mechanism for the introduction of the measures that are being drawn up. It is necessary to do everything possible to arrest the decline in the population's standard of living, to ensure its social protection, above all for people who live on fixed incomes and families with many children. It is necessary to persist in tackling the problems of the employment of labor, housing, and the normalization of the consumer market.

The plenum insists that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, jointly with the republican governments, should without delay sum up the results of the reform of retail prices which has begun, and they should amend it as necessary in light of the situation. Here, special attention must be paid to implementing additional measures to compensate for the fact that food has become more expensive in

student and school refreshment rooms and canteens, to reducing the prices for children's goods, and as well as the new charges for rail and air transportation, to repealing the five percent tax payable on the sale of essential consumer goods, and to introducing indexation of the population's incomes.

2. Participants in the plenum express the firm view that a way out of the crisis can be implemented on the basis of overcoming the recession and increasing the volumes of production, ensuring labor discipline, liberating commodity producers, and creating effective material stimuli for labor collectives. The transition to market relations should have a clearly regulated nature excluding a deep stratification of society on the basis of property and the elimination of the social gains of working people. Preemptive political, economic, and legal elaboration of the issues of the liberalization of prices, destatization and privatization, and of attracting foreign capital into the country is required.

The plenum believes that the process of destatization of property must proceed within the framework of legal regulation with the broad participation of labor collectives and trade union organizations. The decisions that were adopted hastily earlier and which contradict legal norms should be revised and a stop should be immediately put to "do-it-yourself" privatization which is not regulated by law. Party committees should help labor collectives in implementing their rights to economic initiative through lease-holding and the creation of collective and people's enterprises.

3. The plenum advocates the immediate implementation of anticrisis measures of an emergency nature aimed at restoring and strengthening the country's unified state budget, financial, and banking systems and establishing strict state control over foreign economic activity.

Efficient actions are needed from government bodies for creating a planning system of long-term strategic programs, for stabilizing economic links, for regrouping resources in favor of industries in the consumer sector on the basis of reducing investment programs and converting defense industries, for ensuring a strict observance of the agreement on economic matters and the provision of foodstuffs, and for conducting an anti-inflation financial policy. The participants in the plenum insist on decisively stepping up the fight against merging the state and economic apparatus with "the shadow" economy.

4. The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Control Commission expresses deep concern in connection with the aggravation of the social and economic situation in the countryside and the increasing difficulties in the life of peasants, and believes that the program of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers should define specific measures and material and financial resources for creating a true priority in the development of the agroindustrial complex as one of the main conditions for extracting the country from the crisis. For these purposes it is necessary to urgently restore the parity of prices on agricultural and industrial produce, to ensure equal exchange between town and the countryside, to concentrate efforts on implementing targeted programs for increasing the production of grain and meat, and for technically re-equipping the food and fish industries, to interest the peasant farmer in every way to increase the production of foodstuffs, to make wider use of various forms of stimulating agricultural producer and first of all by a countersale [vstrechnaya prodazha] of goods.

The participants in the plenum appeal to party organizations and all communists to actively interact with soviets of people's deputies and executive bodies of power in implementing the land reform and the agrarian reform on the whole, in establishing a mixed economy, in developing on this basis various forms of ownership and economic management and in solving all issues of the social reorganization of the countryside.

To give effective help to agricultural workers to conduct the sowing campaign in an organized fashion and to prepare to gather in the harvest; and not to permit a fall in the production of agricultural output.

5. The CPSU Central Committee and the Central Control Commission stress that during the implementation of anticrisis measures it is not permissible to weaken the attention of the state, labor collectives, and public organizations to the development of education, science, culture, health care, and physical culture.

The plenum calls for the most rapid adoption of legislative acts that ensure the protection and development of society's intellectual and cultural potential in conditions of a transition to market relations, and the creation of the necessary financial and material prerequisites for this.

IV

1. The joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, taking into consideration the complexity and acuteness of the present moment, proposes to party committees that they implement concrete actions for the organizational and political back-up for implementing the anticrisis measures, and for solving the key socioeconomic questions. It is important, moreover, to intensify work by communists in all sections of the party, in local soviets, labor collectives, in the mass news media, and public associations.

2. The plenum considers an urgent task of the party to be to resolutely counteract by political methods attempts by antisocialist forces to change the social system, to destroy the socialist state, to eliminate the Soviet systemn of representation, and to lower the reliability of the USSR's external and internal security. Party organizations should in every way support the efforts of state bodies to strengthen the constitutional order in the country.

3. The plenum instructs members of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, and other elected party organs, to explain the results of the plenum's work in party organizations, in the mass media, and among the working people. Particular attention is to be paid to strengthening discipline in party organizations, and they are to be given assistance in restoring influence on affairs and on the situation in the labor collectives. Proper measures are to be taken for preserving and recreating structural party links, primarily in the workshops and teams.

The Central Committee Secretariat is to elaborate a draft modern cadres policy, viewing it as a most important lever for implementing party influence in all spheres of public life. The regular holding of conferences of secretaries of primary party organizations and of party activists in regions and economic sectors is to be put into practice with the participation of members of the central organs of the CPSU and of the communist parties of the Union republics for forming coordinated tactics of action in a specific political situation.

The plenum draws the attention of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee to the need for taking maximum account of the view of the party masses in elaborating fundamental party decisions concerning various spheres of public life and the party itself.

Soyuz Deputies Hold News Conference

LD3004150491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1302 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] A news conference is being held in Moscow today by leaders of the Soyuz group of deputies. Over to correspondent Andrey Zuyev.

[Zuyev] Today, leaders of the Soyuz group of deputies, Deputies Blokhin and Kodyrov gave a news conference. Unfortunately for us journalists, Deputy Alksnis was not present, as he is now in Japan, while Kogan is in Estonia.

And so, this news conference was devoted to the results of the recent second congress of the Soyuz group. The number of deputies of all levels at the congress was 384, 163 of whom were Russian. The congress proposed that the USSR Supreme Soviet introduce a state of emergency throughout the country's territory to restore the functioning of the USSR Constitution and to stop a famine; call an extraordinary USSR Congress of People's Deputies with a report by the president on ways of overcoming the crisis and with an assessment of the president's activity; bring the draft Union treaty into line with other treaties and documents and adopt a law on responsibility for activity aimed at splitting the USSR; and that the Cabinet of Ministers—of the Union, of course—should lower prices for necessities and abolish the five-percent sales tax which shop assistants call the president's tax.

The statement by the congress of the Soyuz group of deputies, on the draft treaty on the Union of sovereign republics, on the other hand, notes that this draft is unacceptable, and the congress' delegates deemed—I quote—that the transfer of power, stipulated in the draft, to a nonconstitutional body in the form of the Federation Council, given the abolition of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, signifies the virtual elimination of the unified Union state. Furthermore, there is not even any mention of the sovereignty of the USSR in the draft treaty. The USSR Supreme Soviet has been completely left out of participation in the development and subsequent discussion of the draft Union treaty. This same statement ends with the words: Our fatherland has been created over centuries. It should be preserved and it will be preserved and efforts have already been pooled in order to save the country.

As deputies of the Soyuz group believe, the introduction of a state of emergency throughout the country will, firstly, resolve the problem of the sowing; secondly, will ease social tension; and thirdly, it envisages the restoration of vertical ties. According to forecasts by the Soyuz group, the food crisis will come to a head as early as May. Deputy Blokhin rejected the accusation that the establishment of a state of emergency would represent military dictatorship. He believes that a state of emergency would mean the establishment of basic order and discipline. My time is now running out. Details in the final afternoon news service bulletin. Andrey Zuyev, Russia's Radio.

Blokhin on Joint Statement

LD3004145591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 30 Apr 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Apr (TASS)—"We will support Mikhail Gorbachev in the implementation of the program to extricate the country from the crisis," Yuriy Blokhin, chairman of the influential Soyuz parliamentary group stated at a news conference today. He underlined that in regard to the Soviet head of state there has been a change in the opinion of the group, which just six weeks ago regarded him as being insufficiently consistent and demanded that the president should immediately give a personal account of himself to the Congress of People's Deputies.

Explaining this change, Yuriy Blokhin commented that "in his latest speeches Mikhail Gorbachev speaks about the need for emergency measures to extricate the country from crisis, and about establishing constitutional order in the country, which accords with our group's demands." The Soyuz leader also stressed that the joint statement by Mikhail Gorbachev and the leaders of nine Union republics issued last week "gives expression to the demands adopted on 20 and 21 April at the second congress of the Soyuz movement calling for constitutional order to be restored in the country, for strict fulfillment of the laws adopted, for introduction of a

special regime in the basic industries, and for a solution of the food problem among other things."

Replying to a question from a TASS correspondent, Yuriy Blokhin nevertheless said that, in connection with its changed attitude toward the president's activities, the Soyuz group is not ending the collection of signatures of USSR people's deputies, which has been in progress for more than a month now, under a demand for the convening of an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies which would assess Mikhail Gorbachev's work. As grounds for this he gave the impossibility of altering the corresponding decision of the congres of the Soyuz movement. "We have already gathered enough deputies' signatures, but there are not yet enough to convene an extraordinary congress," he added with a smile. (Four hundred fifty signatures of USSR people's deputies are required to convene an extraordinary congress. The Soyuz legislative group has about 600 members.)

During the news conference, Yuriy Blokhin repeatedly stressed that "extraction of the country from crisis will remain no more than wishful thinking unless a state of emergency is brought in throughout the territory of the USSR." "This should not, however, be understood to mean that the Soyuz group is demanding that tanks and troops be put in the streets. We are against that. What should be ensured, in accordance with the law on the state of emergency adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, is constitutional order in the country," the leader of the parliamentary group stated.

Regional Reaction to Joint Statement Noted

PM2904104791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[Feature on Joint Statement by M.S. Gorbachev and leaders of Nine Union Republics comprising reports by INTERFAX, POSTFAKTUM, RIA, correspondents E. Matskevich and S. Bablumyan under the general heading "On the Path to Stabilization"]

[Text] The Joint Statement on urgent measures to stabilize the situation in the country and overcome the crisis signed by the USSR president and the leaders of nine Union republics was published recently. The following reports describe how this important document has been received in various parts of the country.

RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]

As INTERFAX reported, at a closed meeting with RSFSR people's deputies in Moscow Thursday, Boris Yeltsin briefed them on the details of the meeting between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and the leaders of the nine Union republics which resulted in the Joint Statement which has been published.

Boris Yeltsin assured the people's deputies that "there has been no deviation at all from Russia's principles." In his words, the president recognized the republics' right to form a Union of sovereign states and also recognized the right to political sovereignty of all union republics which do not intend concluding the Union treaty. The president confirmed, B. Yeltsin noted, that after the adoption of the country's new Constitution there will be elections to the new organs of power and that such institutions as the Congress of People's Deputies will most probably be abolished.

Answering the question: "Will the president not go back on his word again?" B. Yeltsin said that if that happens the nine republics intend to conclude a treaty directly among themselves without the center.

A document adopted at a sitting of the Democratic Russia Coordinating Council says that the statement by "the ten" requires serious analysis and in that connection it is proposed that it be comprehensively discussed at a plenum of the council of the movement's representatives which will be held 27 April, POSTFAKTUM reports.

Kyrgyzstan

One of the most important features of the USSR president's meeting with the leaders of the nine republics at Novo-Ogarevo 23 April, according to Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev, was the reconciliation of the positions of Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin on all the main questions under discussion. Despite the keen discussion and the claims and counterclaims, its participants reached a mutual understanding: That to get out of the crisis and implement the anticrisis measures proposed in particular by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers there must be coordinated actions by the republics which have supported the preservation of the Union and the center.

In Askar Akayev's words, there was no preliminary text of the statement. It was drawn up right there at the sitting in the space of 3-4 hours. All the participants in the meeting expressed the firm determination to implement the positions that had been agreed and in particular to do everything to help fulfill their previously signed economic agreement, RIA has reported.

Kazakhstan

Correspondent E. Matskevich, Alma-Ata—"As a people's deputy of the republic," Anuar Alimzhanov, the writer and chairman of the Kazakh Committee for the Defense of Peace, said in conversation with your correspondent, "I would particularly like to highlight that point in the joint statement which speaks about the preparation and adoption by a future Congress of USSR People's Deputies of a new Union Constitution which is to be based on provisions of the treaty on the union of sovereign states. The latter is especially important. I mean the word sovereign. That is how the question was phrased in the Kazakh version of the nationwide referendum.

"This is the first time that the head of state and the leaders of the majority of republics have jointly recognized each one's sovereignty. Yet quite recently speakers from important rostrums spoke in ironical tones about a 'parade of sovereignties.' In this sense I consider the joint statement by the nine to be a document of great political importance which will undoubtedly make a tangible contribution to the foundation of renewing our confederative union."

Turkmenistan

Ashkhabad—Sakhat Muradov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet: "To be honest, I was very pleased with the joint statement of the nine—this was the breakthrough that we have waited for so long.

"I think that sooner or later the other republics will join us, too, if we create the most favorable conditions, as the statement said. If we treat each other amicably, if we meet our mutual commitments in full.

"We understand: You cannot assemble all 15 republics now but others have to organize and act. We for our part at a sitting of the Supreme Soviet appointed a special commission and then a full-powered delegation for the signing of the treaty.

"We must all work now to fulfill the measures envisaged by the statement. We in the republic are doing everything possible to maintain the people's well being and stability and peace in the region. I am sure that the leaders of other republics are experiencing the same feelings.

"It is time, in my view, for our Union parliament to review its work—it also has to act in the spirit of this statement.

"It is time for active work. We are called to that not only by the joint statement of the nine but also by the present situation in the country."

Armenia

Correspondent S. Bablumyan, Yerevan—The statement by the leaders of the nine republics has been published in the newspaper GOLOS ARMENII, which represents the republic's Communist Party. So far the other mass media are refraining from publishing the text of the statement or commentaries on it.

As for the position of the republic's Supreme Soviet, Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, made the following statement to your correspondent:

"To make a final choice of path we need to know our people's opinion. It is with that aim and observing all the relevant laws that we are holding a referendum at the set time and will determine our state policy and our position on mutual relations with all the republics in accordance with the expression of the people's will."

It is expected that the Armenian Communist Party will express its attitude toward the document at the third stage of its congress which opens 27 April.

Leaders' Stabilization Statement Viewed

PM2604133191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by Valeriy Vyzhutovich under the "Political Diary" rubric: "Five Steps Toward Agreement. Each Will Still Require Political Will and Mutual Trust from the High Contracting Parties"]

[Text] The hopeless image doing the rounds of the newspapers of the Union as a boat in which the passengers (the republics) are rowing in different directions may possibly nonetheless fall into disuse. One is inclined to that prediction—for the first time since we parted with the "500 days" program—by the statement on urgent measures to stabilize the situation in the country and overcome the crisis signed by the USSR president and the leaders of nine republics: Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Kyrgystan, and Turkmenistan. The five points of this document are five steps toward agreement each of which, indeed, will still require political will and mutual trust from the high contracting parties so as not to stop halfway, as has already happened.

Those taking part in the meeting recognized as the first, most fundamental condition for stabilization the adoption of resolute measures to restore constitutional order everywhere and to observe unconditionally existing laws until the adoption of a new Union treaty and Union constitution. This can probably be assessed as a moratorium countering the "war of laws" which until now has threatened to grow into civil confrontation.

The point of the statement, its political spirit, lie in its admittedly belated recognition of the commonality of the fate of the Union and of the sovereign states which comprise it. Here, it is true, one wants to specify: Is it 15 states or nine? After all, one cannot fail to notice that the Joint Statement has been signed by representatives only of the republics which took part in the All-Union Referendum. Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia, Georgia, and Armenia still prefer "independent sailing" to exiting in convoy from the vortex of collapse and chaos into the secure expanse which opens up by no means close but at least brighter horizons. Well, the statement says directly and unambiguously and also, incidentally, for the first time: Do as you please.

The unconditional right of those who have not joined to decide independently the question of membership of the Union has been confirmed distinctly and unconditionally. It is true that it is said here that most-favored nation status will go to the states which have signed the Union treaty and which operate within the framework of a single economic space. This is a transparent hint (some people may possibly call it a threat, an attempt at pressure, but that is the will of those taking part in the

meeting, who are adapting their decisions to the norms of interstate relations): All economic accounts with the Union will be at world prices. And therefore the Baltic republics and also Georgia, Armenia, and Moldova are as it were being given the chance once more to consider their choice responsibly.

The authors of the statement have not overlooked the growing public dissatisfaction with the activity of the Union parliament. The following point of the agreement looks like a response to it: After the signing of the new Union Treaty and the adoption (within not more than six months) of the USSR Constitution on its basis, elections of the organs of power are to be held. That is the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet are to be dissolved and new elections will form a new parliament. Inasmuch as the USSR president was also elected by the congress it is to be supposed that we will soon also be faced with presidential elections.

Finally, one more circumstance which has probably not escaped the attention of anyone who has read this document: The signature of B. Yeltsin stands on it next to M. Gorbachev's signature. A brief truce before new political skirmishes? Or a relatively long-term alliance?

I should note that these are not the only questions generated by the document which has been signed. Some things in it give rise to speculations, suggestions, and differences of interpretation. I turned to one of those taking part in the meeting, Azerbaijan President A. Mutalibov.

"What does 'the taking of resolute measures to restore constitutional order' mean? The republics agree to recognize the priority of Union laws over republican ones?"

"It is a case of observing any laws which regulate order in society and mutual relations between the republics. We agreed to resolve promptly and to mutual advantage all contradictions which arise. In general I must say that during the many hours of extremely keen talk a spirit of common sense nonetheless prevailed. There was a consolidation of the leaders of the Central Asian republics and the Russian leadership without which advancing to a way out of the crisis is impossible."

"The statement unanimously supports the implementation of joint anticrisis measures. Does it have in mind a government program or was there talk of other measures proposed by those taking part in the meeting?"

"We had in mind primarily Pavlov's program. Although its excessive centralization was also noted. In the opinion of the republics' leaders the center should engage not in guardianship but in determining economic strategy and priorities in social development."

Five steps toward agreement have been taken. Will we go further?

Plenum Decision on Work in Soviets

CM3004082591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

['Text' of decision of the joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Control Commission "On the Work of Communists in Soviets of People's Deputies," issued in Moscow on 25 April]

[Text] 1. To approve the main tenets of the report of the CPSU Central Committee standing sociopolitical commission on the question of the "Work of communists in the soviets of people's deputies" and to publish them in the CPSU press.

To suggest to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, republican, kray, and oblast party committees that they make use of the material of the report in practical work.

2. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo [is] to work out the necessary recommendations to further improve the work of communists in the soviets of people's deputies.

Gorbachev Addresses Kremlin Award Ceremony

PM3004093791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Service to the Fatherland. M.S. Gorbachev Presents Awards in the Kremlin"]

[Excerpts] On 29 April USSR President M.S. Gorbachev presented state awards to a large group of Soviet working people in the Grand Kremlin Palace. They were conferred on people of various professions who have made a major contribution to the development of science, industry, agriculture, and art or have achieved major results in these spheres. [passage omitted]

Orders of the Labor Red Banner, Friendship of the Peoples, Honor, and Labor Glory first class and diplomas conferring high military ranks and USSR honorary titles were also presented.

Today is a fine day for us, with the [May Day] festival in the offing, a day devoted to fine deeds, M.S. Gorbachev said, addressing the recipients of the awards. I am happy to be meeting with our country's outstanding people, the president continued. Today's event in the Kremlin is a tribute to them, people who are loyally serving the Fatherland.

We are living in difficult, crucial, and great times. They are times of grave dangers and great opportunities. And everything must be done to ensure that we are well aware that we have one country, that all of us who live in that country are responsible for what was created by the sweat of labor and defended by the shedding of blood before us, for the country's prosperity while we are here, and for the happiness of those who come after us. That is the extent of our responsibility.

It is very important now to remain people, citizens, sons of the Fatherland. We must be able ourselves to see and we must help others to see that new horizons could lie beyond all the difficulties that beset life today. They will be opened up by our people's labor, combined with the right policy.

In this country, with such patient and talented people, who love their land and will not abandon it in difficult times, but who are doing all they can to save it, ennoble it, and raise it up again—with such people anything is possible. I am an incorrigible optimist and this is something I believe. Although you can sense what the atmosophere is like at the moment. A choice is being made that should lead us to better times, to a better life. It is perfectly understandable that different views should be aired and that emotions should boil over. One cannot argue dispassionately, dryly about our life, about our immediate and more distant future. I believe we will all move in one common direction and will certainly surmount all the obstacles in the way of new forms of life.

Thank you for the great deal you have already done for the good of the Fatherland. I hope that you will continue to serve it.

M.S. Gorbachev congratulated the recipients on the imminent holiday, stressing that the May Day spring festival will remain with us always. He wished them health and new accomplishments.

In their speeches the recipients expressed profound gratitude for the lofty appreciation of their work. They declared their full support for the course of perestroyka and gave assurances that they would continue to spare no effort to successfully implement its tasks.

TASS Previews May Day Festivities

LD3004164391 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 30 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Ivanov, Yuriy Kozmin and Andreyin Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS— For the first time in the Soviet Union's history, May Day celebrations in Moscow are organised by the country's trade unions, not by official authorities and party apparatus.

Representatives of the USSR Federation of Trade Unions, which unites dozens of industrial trade unions, and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, the biggest Union republic, announced that they will participate in the May Day demonstration.

Trade unionists decided to restore the initial meaning of May Day, as the day of working people's international solidarity. During a demonstration and rally in Red Square, the working people of Moscow and their trade unions will reaffirm their resolve to uphold their social and economic interests.

Columns of working people, members of different trade unions will march in Red Square tomorrow. As many as 50,000 people are expected to participate in a rally in Red Square, which will be one-hour long. Invitations have been addressed to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov, chief of Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin and the Mayor of Moscow Gavril Popov.

It was initially expected that political movements will join the manifestation. Several days ago, supporters of "Democratic Russia" expressed their wish to participate in May Day festivities. ("Democratic Russia" is a mass socio-political movement which is the chief opponent of the Soviet Communist Party. According to leaders of the movement, the total number of its activists, including collective members, is some 1.3 million.) However, "Democratic Russia" gave up this intention so as not to impart an acute political nature to the rally.

The organisers of the May Day celebrations are undoubtedly aware of a difficult situation in society. The preparation for May Day is conducted against the background of a sharp aggravation of the socio-political and economic problems. The price reform made early in April caused mostly negative reaction of the people, and the continuing mining strikes put the economy on the brink of disarray.

In the recent days strikes abated. Work collectives and strike committees in a number of towns decided that work should be resumed. This decision was no doubt influenced by the joint statement of April 24 on undelayed measures for stabilising the situation in the country and overcoming the crisis. After Mikhail Gorbachev, the statement was signed by his main political opponent, Boris Yeltsin. The document carries the signatures of leaders of nine Union republics (the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan). This step towards accord kindled the hope of many that the country will overcome the crisis.

Trade Unions Plan May Day Rally

LD2904191491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Excerpts] A news conference by the Moscow City Federation of Trade Unions took place today in connection with the holding of demonstrations on 1 May. Our correspondent Lyudmilla Semina reports:

[Semina] So, it seems that the agitation is behind us. There will be a rally on Red Square on 1 May. Its organizers are two associations of the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions and the Association of Russian Free Trade Unions. As far as the Democratic Russia movement is concerned—it has also put in a demand for a rally—this rally will take place on Manezhnaya Square today. We were told that Gorbachev, Lukyanov, Yeltsin, and Popov have been invited to Red Square on 1 May. The president of the USSR has already confirmed his

participation in the rally. A total of 50,000 people will gather on Red Square. They will progress from the Volkhonka, Tverskoy, Strastnoy Bulvar, Mayakovskiy Square, Lubyanka, (Mestnitskaya), and (Maraseyka). The trade unions will hold their own local rallies at assembly locations from 0800-0900. And as far as the slogans of the rally are concerned, Mikhail Viktorovich Shmakov and Boris Mikhailovich Federov, the leaders of the trade unions, spoke in detail about this.

[Begin recording] [Shmakov] The main slogan of the rally is unity, solidarity and the rights of the working man. The representatives of all the trade unions which operate in our city, the City of Moscow, will go out on to the square under this slogan.

[Federov] I have received a question: Tell me please, are the trade unions coming out on 1 May with political slogans or not? There are different political slogans. There are political slogans which ensue from defense of the workers' socioeconomic rights, and there are simply political slogans. So, our trade union is not coming out with purely political slogans, with purely political ones. But as far as sociopolitical ones and the political subtext which ensues from these—we have such slogans. This is natural. [passage omitted]

[Shmakov] Both the CPSU and the United Front of Working People requested that columns from these political organizations should also be added to the trade union columns. We refused in precisely the same way and for the same reasons: that trade unions are not political organizations, but rather organizations that include members of all parties, people of any belief, and so on. The basic task of the trade unions is defense of the people's socioeconomic demands. And this will be the theme of the slogans and addresses at our rally. [end recording]

Political Linkage Discouraged

PM2904205391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

[V. Semenov article under the "Notes on a Theme" rubric: "Orchestras of Hope"]

[Text] Say what you like but without holidays life is no fun, and despite the skeptic who may ask what there is to be happy about, nevertheless there has to be room for everything in the calendar, and that includes holidays. Utterly strange metamorphoses are taking place in some spheres of the social consciousness. While subjecting our difficult past to an almost devastating analysis, we are ready to unthinkingly trample on the people's traditions, topple the statues of leaders from their pedestals, and refuse to celebrate noteworthy dates—including even the anniversary of the formation of the new state in 1917.

What an astonishing disregard for national dignity! Yet nothing global has happened, the state system has not changed, power belongs to the soviets as proclaimed during the days of the October Revolution. But no, down with the red banners, the brass bands must completely forget the enthusiasts' marches, there must be no parades! Some people dream of our cities gloomily submerging into utter darkness. When there is sausage then we will celebrate. A wretched philosophy.

It is spring again, the eve of May Day, and there is a certain confusion in people's minds: How shall we celebrate?

This May Day in our country is also not one of unbounded joy: There are too many problems for that. Hence it has been decided to hold a solidarity rally even on Red Square as an action expressing the working people's socioeconomic demands. The Moscow Trade Union Federation is the organizer. In its address to the parties and political movements the federation states that attempts are being made to use May Day to aggravate what is already a crisis situation in the country and to "suggest" areas of activity to trade unions. Some are proposing slogans which change the essence of the trade union movement, others are calling for a boycott of mass actions on 1 May.

This is unacceptable. Throughout the world 1 May is recognized as a day of trade union action, a trade union festival. Any political demonstration could distort its essence, give it a confrontational character, and deepen the split in society. The federation firmly stresses that it advocates civil peace and accord in society and the stabilization of the economy, and opposes the spread of the political struggle to the territory of plants, factories, and enterprises. An appeal has been issued to parties and political movements to refrain from political actions on that day.

These are very wise and fair warnings. We have had such a surfeit of political rallies that at least the warm holiday of spring and labor should be marked without aggressive fervor and cries of "Down With...!" There should be something bright left in our souls, and spring is a time of hope.

Gorbachev, Yeltsin CIA Link Claim Denied

PM3004122191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 91 p 6

[Report by F. Sizyy under the "Echo" rubric: "The CIA Has Two Fewer Agents"]

[Text] We reported (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 26 April) that the Tyumen Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies newspaper TYUMENSKIYE IZVESTIYA published a report on a meeting in Ishim City between V. Chertishchev, first secretary of the CPSU Obkom [oblast committee] and communist deputies from the oblast soviet.

V. Chertishchev has sent the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office a denial of the item. He claims he could not have called Yeltsin and Gorbachev CIA agents. As for TYUMENSKIYE IZVESTIYA, then...

"The reference to the CIA and the complicity on this plane of the leadership of the country and the republic is a fabrication and I believe a deliberate act of provocation on the part of the editor of TYUMENSKIYE IZVESTIYA and the author of this report from Ishim City. I said nothing of the kind in my speech and do not allow it. I shall therefore institute proceedings to defend my honor," V. Chertishchev's letter says.

In turn the Tyumen Oblast prosecutor's office intends to investigate the cases of slander against the USSR president and the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

We got in touch with V. Zhuravlev, author of the report in TYUMENSKIYE IZVESTIYA. Volodya is 30 years old, an oblast soviet people's deputy, CPSU member, and delegate to the last All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League congress. He works as a TYUMENSKIYE IZVESTIYA own correspondent.

"I personally attended the meeting with Chertishchev. So I have not a shadow of a doubt that I wrote precisely what I heard. The party obkom first secretary's speech at the meeting was interpreted as information which had to be brought to people. I am prepared to defend the fact that I am right. Especially as on the eve of publication several of those taking part in the meeting were acquainted with its content. There was one single doubt—they said the talk was for a narrow circle of people," V. Zhuravlev explained.

Alas, there was a sequel. On 26 April TYUMENSKIYE IZVESTIYA again published an item entitled "Not a Day Without the CIA" which describes how at a meeting in Tobolsk V. Chertishchev asserted that "the democrats are operating using CIA money."

"I shall investigate," V. Chertishchev said. "Although it takes me from my work."

The investigation will show how the story "connected with the CIA's activity" will end.

Akhromeyev on Army Role in Crisis

PM3004072491 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 27 Apr 91 p 13

[Interview with Marshal Akhromeyev, military adviser to President Gorbachev, by Fiammetta Cucurnia in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—"One thing is certain: There is not and never has been a danger of a military coup. That has been widely discussed, but six years of perestroyka have now demonstrated it once and for all." This statement was made by Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, former chief of staff, now military adviser to the president and a Supreme Soviet deputy from Moldavia—one of the six republics that have decided to leave the USSR.

[Cucurnia] Marshal Akhromeyev, the joint statement issued by Gorbachev and the leaders of the country's nine largest republics now officially recognizes the right of the Baltic states, and of Moldavia, Georgia, and Armenia, to leave the Soviet Union without reference to the disputed law on secession. What attitude do you think the Army will take to such a prospect?

[Akhromeyev] I do not see anything really new: The right to self-determination, even as far as secession, is enshrined in our Constitution, and there is a law that establishes the methods for doing that. Of course, the question is a burning one and I think that is why the USSR president and the leaders of the republics wanted to settle it. But when it comes to practicalities, if for instance Moldova decided to leave the Union, it would have to do so while fully observing the law.

[Cucurnia] The joint statement makes provision for the signing of a new Union treaty, the adoption of a new constitution, and the election of the new federal bodies within six months. Should the republics that want to leave really continue to be bound by the Constitution of a country that no longer exists?

[Akhromeyev] I do not agree. The USSR Constitution exists. The fact is that these republics are part of the USSR and can only break away if they respect that country's law. There is a real aspect that cannot be ignored: The republics are bound by millions of ties—political, economic, cultural, scientific, and, finally, human. It is simply impossible to brutally sever them because that affects people's lives. Therefore, if this secession is to take place, it must be carried out gradually to make it possible to solve all the problems, for instance the return of non-native populations to their birthplaces if they so desire.

[Cucurnia] Some deputies in the Soyuz group who largely represent the Russian-speaking populations in the separatist republics are asking for the introduction of a state of emergency.

[Akhromeyev] That is not to prevent secession but to stop the prevailing chaos in the economy and in interethnic relations. It is understandable, although I personally do not believe in this option. Chaos and disorder are generated not by subjective causes, by the desires or actions of a particular group of people—causes that could easily be eliminated. The causes are deeper and no state of emergency is capable of solving them. The only possible way is through patience and the gradual transformation of the country's economic system.

[Cucurnia] Do you think that the Army shares that stance?

[Akhromeyev] The mood of the officer corps involves two aspects: The first is what they think of the situation, the second is the sense of duty, of obedience, to the higher levels of government. The idea that a state of emergency and strong measures could restore control quickly is probably very widespread among young officers. But they serve the country and must implement the decisions of the leadership bodies.

[Cucurnia] In recent years, however, the USSR has twice witnessed the Army's violence against unarmed people, without any formal decision by the government bodies: First in Georgia, in the central square in Tblisi in 1989, and then in Vilnius, in Lithuania in January of this year.

[Akhromeyev] In Tblisi, the army acted on orders from the Politburo. At that time, the party organs were also the country's leadership bodies although that was not explicitly stated in the Constitution. The Army made every effort to clear the square without injuring anybody, but the people reacted by throwing sticks and stones until fighting broke out. What was the Army to do, stop obeying orders? However, with regard to Lithuania, frankly I cannot say what really happened, and before giving a view I would at least have to see the results of the inquiry, which are not yet known. The responsibility for the tensions that are wracking Lithuania lie with the leaders of the republic who are breaking the law of the USSR while the Army is respecting those laws.

[Cucurnia] Do you think that similar methods can be used to stop the strikes that are continuing despite appeals from republican leaders, including Boris Yeltsin?

[Akhromeyev] That is absolutely out of the question, force will not be used. It would be unacceptable to use it: This is not 1989.

[Cucurnia] Publication of the first volume of the history of World War II by General Volkogonov, who is the Russian legislature's military expert, was expected about now. It is said that during official discussion of the text there was a major scandal that led to Volkogonov's resignation.

[Akhromeyev] I do not see any scandals, just politics. This 10-volume work, commissioned by the government, was entrusted to a commission chaired by Defense Minister Yazov, and I was one of his deputies on the commission. Comrade Volkogonov was given the job of coordinating the authors' work. On the basis of his political stances, which I do not share in the least, Volkogonov tried to represent the history of the period immediately prior to the war as if everything was going wrong in the country at the time and the Communist Party was acting completely against the people's interests. That was a complete travesty of the history of that period. We ooposed that attempt numerous times and eventually Gen. Volkogonov, who had reached retirement age, decided to take the opportunity and retire.

[Cucurnia] Within the Russian legislature, Gen. Volkogonov is closely examining the possibility of forming a Russian republican army. What is your view?

[Akhromeyev] Negative. Defense is a matter for central government and the president, as is stipulated in the proposed Union treaty. The republics may have to set up their own militias, capable of guaranteeing internal public order, but not an army.

[Cucurnia] What do you think of the demands that military service should be carried out only in the conscript's home republic?

[Akhromeyev] Our country is called the Soviet Union. In 51 years of service, I have traveled its length and breadth. And I know that soldiers must go where they are serving.

[Cucurnia] Some left-wing deputies have put forward a proposal to reduce the ranks of the Army to the bare minimum vital for countering a possible, although they say improbable, foreign attack.

[Akhromeyev] The Soviet Union is a big country that needs a big Army. The Army must correspond to the country's military and political situation and its geographical dimensions.

[Cucurnia] Marshal Akhromeyev, there is now talk of an agreement, but a series of old and new problems have hampered the nuclear arms reduction agreement between the United States and the USSR. To what degree have the Soviet Army's anxieties and resistances influenced all that?

[Akhromeyev] Reaching such an important agreement is not an easy matter. In fact, we have been working for 10 years. We can now say that the agreement is ready. There remain no more than one or two questions, matters of principle that are minor with regard to those already settled. At this point, everything depends purely on the goodwill of the United States and the USSR. The fact that the United States decided to link this agreement to arms reductions in Europe is a matter for the United States.

[Cucurnia] In the West, and also in some Soviet newspapers, it has been reported that recently the Soviet Army has not faithfully observed the agreements signed on conventional arms reductions, that it has hidden tanks and other equipment beyond the Urals to keep them out of the reckoning.

[Akhromeyev] This is the view held by the United States, but that does not automatically mean that it is right. The conventional arms agreement was drawn up in a fairly short time, in three and a half years. Some aspects of the document were interpreted differently by the two sides. When the agreement was ratified, this difference of interpretation on one or two questions came out, and it was therefore necessary to reopen the negotiations and the positions are now moving closer together. I think that it will take us just another month before it can be presented to the respective legislatures.

[Cucurnia] To what degree do you think this aspect influenced Shevardnadze's decision to resign?

[Akhromeyev] You will have to ask him. I would have many more questions than you on this subject.

PRAVDA Profiles New Politburo Members

M.S. Surkov

PM2904120191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Elected at CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum": "Mikhail Semenovich Surkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member"]

[Text] Born 1945 in Chelyabinsk City. A Russian. A CPSU member since 1968. Began working life as a fitter in Omsk City, then worked in construction in Leningrad City. Has served in the Soviet Army since 1965. Was officer candidate, senior mechanic and squad leader, battery first sergeant. Performed service in political personnel posts: deputy company commander, aide to chief of divisional political department, deputy battalion commander, secretary of regimental party committee, deputy regimental commander, deputy chief of divisional political department, chief of political department and deputy divisional commander. First deputy chief of Army Political Department since 1985. Member of the Military Council and chief of the Guards Army Political Department since 1988. Chief secretary of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Party Commission since 1990. Secretary of the All-Army Party Committee since March 1991. Major General. USSR people's deputy. Member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions.

He is a member of the CPSU Central Committee. Elected member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo at the April (1991) CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum.

G.I. Yeremey

PM2904115991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Elected at CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum": "Grigoriy Isidorovich Yeremey, CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member"]

[Text] Born 1935 in Tyrnovo Village, Yedinetskiy Rayon, Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. A Moldavian. A CPSU member since 1957. Graduate of M.V. Frunze Kishinev Agricultural Institute and CPSU Central Committee External Higher Party School. Candidate of philosophical sciences. Began working life 1952 as library chief at agricultural secondary school. Served in Soviet Army 1954-1956. In Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] work since 1956: Second and first secretary of a Komsomol rayon committee, deputy chief of department and second secretary of the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee. Was in party and soviet work for 20 years. Was first secretary of Kotovskiy Rayon Party Committee, and deputy and first deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers. Chairman of the Moldavian Republic Soviet of Trade Unions since 1980, chairman of the Moldovan SSR Federation of Independent Trade Unions since 1990. First secretary of the Communist Party of Moldova Central Committee since February 1991. USSR people's deputy.

He is a member of the CPSU Central Committee. Elected member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo at the April (1991) CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum.

D.B. Amanbayev

PM2904115191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Elected at CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum": "Dzhumgalbek Beksultanovich Amanbayev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member"]

[Text] Born 1945 in Chayek Village, Dzhumgalskiy Rayon, Issyk-Kul Oblast, Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic. A Kyrgyz. A CPSU member since 1972. Graduate of K.I. Skryabin Kirghiz Agricultural Institute and CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences External Department. Candidate of biological sciences. Started working life 1956 as animal specialist at Livestock Raising Scientific Research Institute's Tien Shan Experimental Station, was then scientific staffer at and director of Osh Oblast State Bloodstock Station. In party work since 1974: deputy chief and chief of Osh Obkom [Oblast Party Committee] Agricultural Department, first secretary of Alayskiy Rayon Party Committee, secretary of Osh Oblast Kirghiz Party Committee. From 1985 through 1988 was secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee. For the last three years has been first secretary of Issyk-Kul Obkom. Elected first secretary of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan Central Committee April 1991. USSR people's deputy.

Became member of CPSU Central Committee and was elected member of CPSU Central Committee Politburo at the April (1991) CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum.

TASS Reviews Press for 30 Apr

LD3004082291 Moscow TASS in English 0602 GMT 30 Apr 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA open their front pages with a resolution by a joint plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Central Control Commission "On the Situation in the Country and Ways To Pull the Economy Out of Crisis" and "On Communists' Work in local Councils".

PRAVDA publishes President Mikhail Gorbachev's greetings to the Soviet Peace Fund on the fund's 30th founding anniversary.

Gorbachev hoped the fund will continue to support "people's diplomacy, promote peace and accord in our home and help settle burning social and economic problems in our society".

Newspapers publish condolences Mikhail Gorbachev sent to U.S. President George Bush in the wake of a hurricane [as received] that devastated Kansas and Oklahoma.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and other newspapers publish an address by the joint plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Central Control Commission to the Soviet people on the occasion of International Workers' Day celebrated on May 1.

The Moscow Federation of Trade Unions plans to hold a rally in Red Square on May 1. President Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet parliament chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov, Russian leader Boris Yeltsin and Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov have been invited to participate.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publish Mikhail Gorbachev's concluding speech at the Central Committee plenum.

On Monday Mikhail Gorbachev presented state awards to workers, scientists and other specialists for outstanding accomplishments in their occupations, newspapers report.

Authorities in the republic of Tatarstan have adopted a social insurance pogrammme to cope with unemployment, newspapers report.

The programme envisages setting unemployment and training centres.

Saratov's two largest enterprises—the aviation plant famous for its Yak-40 and Yak-42 planes and the electrical-engineering plant—are now owned by work collectives, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA reports.

The newspaper carries a letter by a mining engineer from Yakutia, who says that unless living conditions of gold, tin and tungsten miners improve, mines in the Soviet far north will be sapped of workers.

At least 20,000 people left Magadan area alone last year, including about 3,000 skilled specialists, the engineer said.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN and PRAVDA publish a report by the USSR Prices Committee and the Finance Ministry about allegations in the press that recent price increases far exceeded compensations to the public.

In accordance with a joint statement by the USSR president and leaders of Union republics on urgent measures to stabilise the situation in the country and overcome the crisis, the USSR Committee on Prices and the Finance Ministry will, together with republican governments, analyse the situation with prices and prepare measures on questions causing grave social tensions, it says.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes a Union bill on rail transport, a Russian bill on a Russian Federation presidency, a Russian bill on changes in the criminal code and administrative crimes code.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Soviet Defence Ministry Finance Department Chief Colonel V. Korolenko, who speaks about compensating servicemen and their families for price hikes.

PRAVDA covers a students' hunger strike in Kiev. The strike is a well-planned act of cynical political pressure on the parliament, exploiting deputies' parental feelings, it says.

In its discussion leaflet section, PRAVDA comments on everyday problems in Soviet society. The confrontation between political forces in the country has reached a dangerous level. Further confrontation could be fatal, PRAVDA writes.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on the eve of his visit to the United States.

Newspapers cover Boris Yeltsin's visit to Novokuznetsk and a major earthquake in Georgia. They publish the Soviet Government's condolences to Georgian peoples over the quake.

Shevardnadze on Democracy Prospects

LD2904230191 Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] The chairman of the Soviet Union's first Foreign Policy Association, the former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, has answered a few questions put to him by newsmen.

Asked about his warning last December when he resigned that there was a danger of a shift to the right, he denied that he had referred to the current leadership and government. The present government, he said, could only be reproached for failing to act decisively. People, he said, were tired of the lack of action and as a result, disappointed. (?So) there was the threat of a dictatorship. He recalled that President Gorbachev had once said the worst dictatorship originated in chaos, so the main task of the government, the left-wing forces, the democrats, and the (?sound) element among the conservatives and in society as a whole, was not to allow chaos, not to allow anarchy in the country.

Did the ex-foreign minister see any way of carrying out the constructive programs advanced?

Eduard Shevardnadze said this was a difficult question that required a detailed answer, because some mistakes had been made in laying the legal foundations of Soviet society during its transition from a totalitarian regime to a state ruled by law.

The importance of the executive branch has been underestimated for example. He had been one of those who proposed establishing a presidency, at the very beginning of the restructuring, or perestroyka. He and others had proposed strengthening democracy on the one hand, and strengthening the executive branch on the other. The opportunity had been missed and now the situation needed to be corrected.

The executive branch should be strengthened, but not at the expense of restricting democracy. All the healthy forces in society needed to be consolidated on a solid scientific platform.

When Eduard Shevardnadze was asked if he saw the people who could captain this movement, he said yes, there were quite a few, though he would not name them. The country had many competent and talented people. They were to be found among the democrats too.

The ex-foreign minister was asked what he would say to the members of the Soviet parliament if he were to address them today. He said he would tell them to act on the programs already in existence. There needed to be more action and less talk. The country needed elementary law and order. People wanted bold and energetic action.

Those were the highlights of an interview with the former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is now the chairman of the Soviet Union's first Foreign Policy Association.

CPSU Foreign Policy Commission Meets

PM3004094591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Commission Sitting"]

[Text] A routine sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Standing Commission on International Policy Problems has been held. The commission members exchanged opinions on the party's tasks and opportunities in ensuring the amicable character of relations between the Soviet Union and other countries.

It was stressed that the CPSU's contacts make it possible to give an appropriate picture abroad of the processes of Soviet perestroyka and help to strengthen interest in developing ties with the USSR in various spheres of activity. The participants in the sitting spoke in favor of more vigorous and purposeful actions in this regard.

There was an analysis of the results of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's visits to Japan and the ROK, which offer new prospects in mutual relations with those neighboring countries. In this context note was made of the usefulness of the CPSU's contacts with Japan's Liberal Democratic and Social Democratic parties.

The accords reached during the visits offer broad scope for activity to state and economic organs, soviets and social movements in the republics, krays, and oblasts of Siberia and the Far East. Local party organizations could help in establishing and expanding mutually beneficial cooperation, primarily in the light of Soviet people's needs in supplying the market with goods, resolving economic problems, and effecting cultural cooperation and humanitarian contacts.

The sitting pointed to the importance of the forthcoming arrival in the USSR of Jiao Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. Relations between the two great neighboring countries and their Communist Parties are an essential factor in stabilizing and improving the political situation in Asia.

There was a detailed examination of the question of the staging of the third Conference on the Human Dimension in Moscow this year within the framework of the Helsinki process and the participation of USSR social movements in the preparation of this forum.

Stating that the efforts of state organs, ministries, and departments are reinforced and usefully augmented by the activity of social organizations, the participants in the commission sitting drew attention to the welter of practical problems in need of solution.

The success of the great cause requires the involvement in the preparatory work of the party members, broad political forces, the intelligentsia, representatives of various cultural, economic, rights-defense, and other movements supporting the aims and principles of building a united and democratic new Europe.

The sitting was chaired by CPSU Central Committee Secretary V.M. Falin. The following commission members, commission advisers, and guests spoke: A.S. Grachev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; P.A. Zhiganov, an arc welder at the "Tsentralnaya" mine in Partizansk City, Maritime Kray; A.K. Marenkov, commander of a military unit in Severomorsk; Yu.A. Reshetov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights Administration; M.M. Vladimir, deputy chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries Board; D.A. Kerimov, chairman of the Committee on Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation; V.N. Kalmyk, deputy chairman of the Committee of Soviet Women; and V.V. Voshchenko, a fitter and repairman at the Latvian Fishing Industry Association.

Official Addresses Diplomacy Organizations

LD2604115591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1548 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Kondratenko]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Apr [TASS]—"Real foreign policy effectiveness at the current time stems from close unity and cooperation between official and people's diplomacy." This viewpoint was expressed by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Velentin Nikiforov, as he was speaking today to representatives of people's diplomacy organizations and movements. Their second consultative meeting is taking place at the moment in Moscow.

Valentin Nikiforov spoke briefly about the activities of the USSR Foreign Ministry and answered questions from those attending the meeting. Touching on the problem of mutual relations between Union and republican foreign policy departments, he said that a mechanism for their interaction was now being worked out with a view to devising a single position on the conduct of the country's foreign policy.

Today, people's diplomacy representatives also met Russian people's deputies, members of the Supreme Soviet, and representatives of the Foreign Ministry of the largest Union republic.

A discussion, "The code of Ethics of participants in the Civil (people's) Diplomacy Movement," began within the framework of the consultative meeting.

Disappearance of Humanitarian Aid Denied

LD2904223991 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—"Assertions that appeared in the press in some places that foreign humanitarian aid to the Soviet Union dwindles are not true. Quite the contrary is the case. Aid supplies will continue to arrive in our country for a long time ahead," I. Prostyakov, deputy chairman of the Central Commission for the Use of Foreign Humanitarian Aid, stated at the commission's regular meeting here on Monday. The commission had been set up by a decision of the president of the USSR.

From December last year to the present day, more than 180,000 tonnes of various gifts, primarily food, came to the Soviet Union from abroad, Prostyakov said.

Subsequently 250,000 tonnes of aid supplies are to be taken from Germany alone. The flow of aid will also be particularly intensive from Italy, France, the United States, Japan and other countries, he added.

More than 50 countries now give humanitarian aid to the Soviet Union. According to Prostyakov, what has already been received is estimated at 700-800 million dollars. The commission does everything to ensure an efficient functioning of the system of distribution of incoming food and other gifts.

Rumours that aid supplies disappear to unknown destinations are absolutely unfounded, he said. Food is being distributed by those organisations which receive it while the commission distributes aid only if supplies are addressed directly to it.

A larger share of aid goes primarily to people who suffered as a result of the Chernobyl accident and to those who live in the Aral Sea area, to child pre-school institutions and hospitals, homes for the disabled and to socially vulnerable sections of the population, Prostyakov said.

The supply of aid to refugees is a special aspect of distribution efforts: 3,500 tonnes of food have already been turned over to people of South Ossetia. Unfortunately, aid to them is being blocked by militants, and it even had to be discontinued for the time being, speakers at the meeting said.

Those present at the commission meeting heard reports by representatives of a number of departments, institutions and organisations and worked out measures to refine all work connected with the delivery and distribution of humanitarian aid.

MVD Says Moscow Municipal Militia 'Lawful'

PM2304135991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR MVD"]

[Text] Having considered the Moscow Soviet Presidium decision of 8 April 1991 "On Measures To Create a Moscow Municipal Militia" and "On Measures To Implement the Decisions of the Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies and the RSFSR Government on Questions Relating to the Moscow Militia," the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] deems it necessary to voice the following considerations.

The Moscow Soviet Presidium's raising of the question with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of forming a local militia is by and large lawful. Article 7 of the USSR Law of 6 March 1991 "On the Soviet Militia" makes provision for this possibility.

At the same time a local militia should be set up in addition and not as an alternative to the Union militia, and its functions should conform strictly with the functions laid down by article 10 of the USSR Law "On the Soviet Militia." Soviet and foreign practice shows that a local militia's tasks are confined to maintaining public order, providing the population with social and legal assistance, and certain other functions which are not regarded in law as coming under the jurisdiction of the Union and republic militia. That is why it cannot incorporate subunits of the criminal investigation, Struggle Against the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, or other services that perform the functions of this militia and leadership of which objectively needs to be centralized.

In this connection the USSR MVD believes that consideration of the question of a local militia should be preceded by in-depth, all-around study of all aspects

relating to the setting up of such a militia to prevent a split in militia ranks in view of the complexity of the operational situation.

KGB To Participate in PRAVDA Festival

PM3004102591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

[S. Georgiyev report: "The KGB Without Secrets: We Invite You to the PRAVDA Festival! It Will Be Held 3-4 May at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements in Moscow"]

[Text] Much is being written and spoken about the country's Committee of State Security nowadays. It is more often negative than positive. People recall the Stalinist repressions, the times of the cold war, the harsh opposition to dissidents. Yes, all that happened. But what is happening now? You will find out about that at the "Soviet Trade Unions" pavillion at 1300 on 3 May where PRAVDA's Soviets and Social Policy Department is organizing a meeting for you with people whose names rarely appear in the press even today.

The latter fact is not the fault of USSR KGB staffers. Furthermore, they are ready to lift the veil of secrecy from their activity, within the bounds of what is reasonable for the country's security, of course. But, unfortunately, their movement toward glasnost often goes unanswered.

"Today some mass media which consider themselves democratic and independent," Major General A. Karbainov, chief of the USSR KGB Public Relations Center, said, "act as though the whole country were a one-way street for them. They seem not to notice the perestroyka in the security organs or their efforts to work for the good of the country and the people. And they paint us in nothing but black tones...."

Meanwhile, Aleksandr Nikolayevich will be at our meeting and will be able to say for himself what he thinks and answer all your questions. In addition to him we expect Lieutenant General V. Kirpichenko, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Foreign Intelligence Directorate, Major General G. Martynov, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Border Troops Military Political Directorate, and other leading staffers of the country's KGB central apparatus.

They will talk about the changes which are taking place in the security organs and the work of our intelligence and counterintelligence services, and for the first time will publicize unknown pages from the activity of chekists before World War II and will talk about the KGB's role in the struggle against organized crime and the modern concept of the protection of the state border.

Incidentally, display stands have been set up for you in the foyer of the "Soviet Trade Unions" pavillion and you can see videos portraying the difficult service of Soviet chekists.

We hope that the meeting with USSR KGB senior officials will be mutually interesting and useful.

So we look forward to seeing you at 1300 on 3 May at the "Soviet Trade Unions" pavilion. Despite these times of market forces, entrance is free....

Officer Interviewed on Two New KGB Papers

LD1804154291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0030 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] In this edition of Mayak we offer you a topical interview. Two years ago the collegium of the USSR (KGB) adopted a well-known resolution—On Extending Glasnost in KGB Activities. We do indeed know much today about the work of this department which until not long ago was closed. Here is our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov chatting with Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Georgiyevich Mikhailov, head of the press service at the USSR KGB for Moscow and Moscow Oblast. Let us hear what they had to say:

[Begin recording] [Mikhailov] Well, it has to be said that for the KGB these two years of glasnost have the feeling of what might be called wind-tunnel testing, checking for reliability all the structures of the KGB, subject as it is to the close scrutinity of the mass media and of individual journalists.

[Fedorov] Not only of individual journalists but of the whole people, wouldn't you agree?

[Mikhailov] Yes, undoubtedly. And of course, the development of glasnost—which has now become a reality in this country—gives us serious cause for reflection. It is now clearly visible what people think about us; we now wish to let viewers, readers, and listeners know what we think about one issue or another. In general terms, this is a tight and firm two-way process as far as the KGB is concerned.

Well, I will not dwell on the numerous comments that have been published or said by KGB leaders on the most diverse issues—we don't have enough time on the air. I would like instead to dwell on just two publications that are on sale today. One of these is the newspaper ANALITIK PRESS. The founder of the newspaper is the Moscow directorate of the KGB. The newspaper's purpose is to return to society the very rich intellectual and analytical potential available in the special services which has not been at the disposal of the general public before. This eight-page publication will carry analytical forecasts, as well as accounts of current KGB activities—a sort of chronicle—but the most important thing, without doubt, is the analytical forecasts and other in-depth activities of the KGB. It needs to be said that the newspaper is written by professional journalists, and that the KGB will not actually influence the policies of the paper—it limits itself to supplying information it has at its disposal.

In addition to that, the second issue of the newspaper LUBYANKA- 14 has come off the presses. This is a supplement to the rayon newspaper VESTI ZAMOSKVORECHYA. It has to be said that the first edition aroused a very great response and its print-run of 60,000 in Moscow sold out in literally two days. Moreover, unlike ANALITIK PRESS, in LYUBANKA we are trying to have as much interesting material as possible which is accessible to the reader, accounts of current issues in our rayon and city sub-units, but we are well aware that today it is essential to have some new things. In any event, you'll find in this newspaper a crossword, you'll find various kinds of entertaining stories, the story of Major Pronin—we're bringing this hero back for our readers—and we hope that the newspaper LUBYANKA-14 will win through and become very popular.

[Fedorov] Unlike PRESS ANALITIK [as heard], as far as I know the writers' group of the newspaper LUBYANKA-14 is on the whole made up of professional KGB officers. [end recording]

Newspaper, Magazine Association Established

LD2104201791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Apr 91

[Text] Now an announcement from the All-Union bulletin OKNO V MIR: Publications from a new financially autonomous newspaper and magazine association Voskresenye will be on sale at the country's newspaper stands in June. The association was set up at the initiative of the USSR president, and will include such well-known publications as SOVETSKIY SOYUZ, SPORT V MIRE I USSR, and the children's magazine MISHA, as well as the new weekly KRASNAYA PLOSHCHAD, the illustrated magazine FORUM, and the magazine of fictional and publicist material VOSKRESENYE. The broad readership appeal, access to interesting information, and the planned low selling prices make for good launch conditions for the new association.

Radio Station Claims Commercial Success

LD2204183191 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 22 Apr 91

[Text] In what is seen as a major commercial success, the independent radio station Echo of Moscow, the first of its kind, set up last year, now has an audience of 16 million listeners. The station is an alternative to the state broadcasting company, and makes its profits mainly on advertising. Its main sponsors are the Public Radio Association and Moscow University, and the station's main focus is on news and music.

Economic

More Donetsk Miners End Strike

LD2904135791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1322 GMT 29 Apr 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk, 29 Apr (TASS)—In just the few days that have elapsed since their strike, the miners of Krasnoarmeysk (Donbass, southeast Ukraine) have brought their enterprises up to planned capacity. Labor collectives made the decision to halt the strike at another seven mines in Donetsk, Makeyevka, and Selidovo today. Team workers went down to the face. The collectives of 17 mines and mine administrations are still partially or fully on strike, out of 122 coal-mining enterprises. The final decision on resuming work should be made during the shift and at general gatherings of miners being held in administrative offices at coal enterprises.

Chelyabinsk Miners Begin Returning to Work

LD3004064391 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT 30 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk April 30 TASS—Collieries of the Chelyabinskugol Amalgamation have resumed their operations after a protracted strike today.

Chelyabinsk miners treated with understanding the joint statement on urgent measures to stabilise the situation in the country and to overcome the crisis, which was signed by President Mikhail Gorbachev and the leaders of nine union republics.

Only the Kapitalnaya mine does not work in this coal basin.

State Bank Official on Government Debts

LD3004104491 Hamburg DPA in German 0828 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bonn (DPA/VWD)—Moscow central government debts with the State Bank already exceed "a critical threshold." Yuri A. Balagurov, manager of the money circulation department of the Soviet State Bank, said this in an interview with the Bonn economic news service "Ostwirtschaft Intern." In addition, Balagurov conceded that the country's gold reserves, which by law are the State Bank's responsibility, are currently "in the hands of the government, or to be more precise, the Ministry of Finance." He also announced the imminent circulation of R200 notes.

The state banker put the amount of money in circulation at the beginning of the year in the Soviet Union at R 136.1 billion. Talking about the "creditworthiness" of the union government with the State Bank, and the state debt problems, Balagurov explained that more than 50 percent of State Bank credits are tied up in domestic expenditure. He added: "In fact, we have already exceeded a critical threshold, which has for example a negative effect on the distribution of credits to industry." As a result, out of R945.5 billion State Bank loans in 1990, R581 billion were loans for the union and republic budgets alone.

As background to this development, Balagurov explained that the State Bank, whose aim must be to create a stable currency, has, under the "conditions of a budgetary deficit, an enormous task to overcome." Additionally, some of the republics are delaying their payments into the union budget. "A consequence is that the State Bank must give credit to cover current expenditure from the state budget."

RSFSR Economic Stabilization Program

914A0661A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 91 p 4

[RSFSR Government Program: "A Way Out?": "An RSFSR Government Program To Stabilize the Economy and Make the Transition to Market Relationships"]

[Text]

Assessment of the Situation

The republic's economy is coming ever nearer to the point where it will become necessary to speak not of economic crisis, but rather of economic disaster. The sharp decline in production volume typical of the majority of enterprises in the state sector is accompanied by growing inflationary processes. The administrators of plants and factories are not concerned with long-range production development, but merely with finding the means to pay wages at the levels demanded by their workers and to make food and consumer goods available upon which to spend those wages. These problems, along with the problems involved in material and technical supply, are to an ever greater extent being resolved by means of the archaic exchange of one commodity for another. Yet by its very nature the barter market is inefficient; it is not capable of providing enterprises with an adequate amount of resources—commercial ties will be disrupted and production will come to a halt.

The economy is experiencing an ever more acute need for resources, yet the efficiency with which those resources are being utilized is decreasing.

The extent to which the economy is out of control is reaching catastrophic proportions. The planning structures are demoralized by the uncertainty of their present situation and even more so by their future prospects. There is no reliable information from local areas. The commands issued by union, republic and regional administrative organs are contradictory, and this does much to exacerbate social and political tension in society.

There is only one conclusion: a gradual transition from a planned economy to a market economy is impossible. Further attempts to move in that direction will merely cause complete loss of control over economic processes. We must move quickly to establish a new, market-oriented administrative model, a model whose effectiveness has been proven by practical application around the world.

Controlling the behavior of economic subjects—i.e. enterprises and entrepreneurs—in a free market economy is possible only if this is done in their best interests. Realization of their economic interests should take place within the bounds of a realm clearly defined by law. There are not and cannot be any other mechanisms for implementation of economic policy except the creation of favorable conditions for commercial activities which are favorable to entrepreneurs and the definition of legislative boundaries.

The government of the Russian Federation intends to put a stop to the flawed practice of financing the economy with funds from its own budget. The mechanism of government regulation will be limited to taxation and provision of guarantees. All investment in the production realm will be carried out via the commercial lending system.

Our policy is a policy of concrete actions designed to perform urgent tasks with regard to the formation of a market economy; it is a policy of realizing the main principles of the "500 days" program. Of course, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Council of Ministers do not possess either strategic reserves or convertible currency resources with which to soften the blows of this crisis. Our only resource is economic freedom. By liberating the producers and ensuring political and legal stability we will achieve economic growth. This alone can genuinely restore health to our economy. It was precisely from this standpoint that we approached the development of a plan of specific actions.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers regards incentives for public commercial activity and provision of the proper conditions for realization of such activity as its primary tasks.

1. Incentives for Commercial Activity

A more advantageous system of taxation will be introduced, to include:

—exemption of production development funds from taxation;

—exemption of all dividends channeled into the development (expansion and modernization) of production from all taxes;

—a 15-percent reduction in taxes on profits used to pay dividends;

—reduction of the individual income tax ceiling to 30 percent;

—removal of all administrative restrictions on salary increases, along with centrally-established restrictions on the most diverse forms of labor activity.

A transition will be made to a market-oriented price formation system, as follows:

—through a gradual (in order to prevent sharp fluctuations in the buying power of the ruble and in the population's living standard) yet rapid (within six to eight months) freeing of wholesale and retail prices, beginning with those groups of goods, production of which can be increased rapidly (by the so-called "balanced basket" method);

—by freeing up prices on the products of the Russian fuel and raw materials complex, coal in particular;

—by influencing the pricing policy of the producers of goods solely through indirect, market-based methods. Methods of anti-expenditure tax regulation will be applied to monopoly enterprises; such regulation will provide an incentive to reduce expenditures and lower prices. Fines will be levied on those who violate antitrust legislation.

The primary means of protecting the market from monopolies will be to ensure a freely convertible ruble and access to the republic market by foreign producers, combined with measures aimed at protecting our own production.

Restrictions on free entrepreneurial activity will be eliminated. This will include:

—revision of Article 153 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, which regulates commercial brokerage activities, and Article 88, which concerns convertible currency transactions;

—granting of permission to all citizens and enterprises within the territory of the RSFSR to freely engage in the purchase and sale of foreign currency;

—revision of the principles by which trade and brokerage operations are taxed;

—repeal of strict administrative restrictions on brokerage in the realm of export-import operations, accompanied by the establishment of a definitive list of forbidden types of operations;

—liberalization of customs duties levied on imports of consumer goods and food;

—repeal of the mandatory state orders system.

Entrepreneurial activity should be made universally accessible, by means of:

—simplified procedures for registration of new enterprises;

—a simplified accounting system.

All enterprises and entrepreneurs will be ensured equal access to physical and production-related resources, by means of:

—transformation of the state system for distribution of physical resources, with development of a network of trade and brokerage organizations and commodities markets toward that end;

—provision of special lines of communications to meet the needs of interregional market, trading and banking transactions;

—a ban on listing as inventory uncompleted facilities, uninstalled equipment (including foreign equipment) purchased with centralized capital investment funds, or other unutilized material and technical resources, and sale of the above through commodities markets and auctions to enterprises, commercial associations, cooperatives and the public.

Resolute efforts will be made to maintain a unified economic zone within the republic's territory and to ensure free movement of capital, goods and workers. Toward this end:

—all restrictions on interregional trade, including restrictions on exports, will be lifted;

—the rationing system and coupon-only purchases will be abolished within the RSFSR;

—criminal prosecution will be initiated against local authorities who exceed their authority and establish local customs and duties.

Favorable conditions will be established for attracting foreign capital and foreign entrepreneurs, by means of:

—ensuring partial convertibility of the ruble (free purchase and sale of convertible currency for rubles within the territory of the republic) as a step toward the full convertibility of our national currency;

—currency funds being established as guarantees backing foreign investments and top-priority sectors of the Russian economy.

Incentives will be provided for development of export sectors and production intended for export.

* * *

Opening up opportunities for development of entrepreneurial activity and an increase in commercial activity is not enough. We must protect the economic rights and freedoms of Russian citizens against any and all negative influences, both within the bounds of the Russian Federation and from without.

II. Protection of Economic Rights and Freedoms Against Negative External Influences

The RSFSR Council of Ministers is accelerating efforts to reach agreements with other republics on the following matters:

—a unified economic zone, specifically: a unified currency system, customs system, system of social guarantees, employment system and systems for accounting and statistical record keeping;

—mutual obligations in the realm of protecting the investments and property of citizens and enterprises;

—systems and guarantees regarding calculations (through banks and calculation centers under government control) and the circulation and recording of securities (by means of banknotes, checks, drafts and direct correspondence accounts);

—regulation and formation of interrepublic shipments of produce and goods in accordance with intergovernmental agreements;

—accounting for differences between world and domestic prices for shipments and mutual accounting for republic debts;

—establishment of an interrepublic calculation office;

—procedures for distribution of state orders solely for the purpose of meeting the state's needs, as well as distribution of goods received on state order in 1992; state orders may be changed by organs of authority at any level solely through the appropriate organs of the Russian Federation.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers deems it necessary to conclude agreements with the Union government regarding general principles and approaches with regard to the following matters:

—the issuing of currency and overall financial policy;

—price policy;

—foreign economic activities, including customs policy;

—tax policy and budgetary policy.

However, the Russian Government must also take into consideration the clear inclination of the Union cabinet toward continuation of its confiscatory financial policy and its efforts to restrict business activity. In view of this the following legislation is proposed for the short term:

—a ban on confiscatory measures in regard to currency circulation within the territory of the Russian Federation, regardless of whether such measures are directed against citizens or enterprises, corporate bodies or individuals;

—protection for the sovereign rights and prerogatives of Russian organs of authority in matters involving regulation of foreign currency and ruble circulation within the republic's territory;

—a stronger system for convertible currency regulation within the RSFSR's territory to be incorporated in RSFSR standardizing acts;

—permission to Russian enterprises to open convertible currency accounts in various banks, including foreign banks, a list of which is to be drawn up by the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

In order to improve the stability of the Russian Federation's economy as a whole and to prevent a slowing of the speed and a decrease in the reliability of currency calculations due to delays and disruptions in the operations of the USSR State Bank network proper conditions will be created for widespread introduction of non-cash forms of accounts to the public, as well as development of parallel systems of calculations.

In the event of excessive issuance of currency causing money to accumulate in the hands of Russian citizens and enterprises and hampering execution of the Russian budget an appropriate amount will be deducted from payments into the Union budget as compensation.

Those same payments will be used to compensate for losses by Russian enterprises in the event of confiscation or freezing of their financial resources by Union organs of authority.

Legislative guarantees will be provided to protect the investments and profits of commercial subjects and to compensate for losses incurred as a result of actions by organs of authority and state administration. Organs of authority and state administration will be forbidden to interfere in the day-to-day operations of commercial subjects. Glasnost should be extended to the results of commercial operations by all enterprises; toward this end forms and procedures governing publication of their annual balances must be developed.

* * *

The foundations of economic sovereignty are an independent budgetary and financial policy and the normal functioning of the lending and monetary system. The RSFSR Council of Ministers proceeds upon the assumption that our principal means of payment is the ruble, and it will make every effort to increase its stability and protect its buying power.

III. Budgetary and Financial Policy and the Lending and Monetary System

The government of the Russian Federation will continue to pursue a policy of budget reorganization. There will be further decentralization in administration of the budget process. The financial rights of local organs of authority will be expanded.

The following types of taxes affect the budget levels of the republics and organs of local authority which comprise the RSFSR:

—property taxes (on real estate, on transactions and securities, and on land);

—taxes for the use of natural resources;

—entertainment taxes;

—resort taxes;

—income taxes on individual labor activity;

—other local taxes and commissions collected in accordance with current legislation.

In addition local budgets will retain control over all forms of rent and stump payments.

Cities will compile their own budgets independently.

The following will be done in connection with the goal of stimulating commercial activity by the public:

—all types of tax exemptions except those provided for in Russian tax legislation will be abolished;

—a definitive list of top-priority sectors of the economy whose development should be stimulated with the help of tax incentives will be compiled (in conjunction with RSFSR Supreme Soviet commissions and committees);

—taxes on stock transactions, on alcoholic beverages, tobacco, gold and other precious metals and stones and luxury items will be repealed;

—the sales tax will be transformed into a value added tax;

Local organs of authority will with the consent of federal organs be permitted to write off and auction off to other commercial subjects unprofitable and "frozen" production complexes, with the receipts to be paid into local budgets and the republic budget.

Methods of spending budget funds will be reformed through:

—continued efforts to establish a system of nongovernmental financial funds which will function as independent lending and financial institutions. These will accumulate state budget funds for the purpose of backing ruble and foreign currency investments in top-priority sectors or in legislatively approved special-purpose comprehensive programs (the Chernobyl Program, the Bread Program, the Combined Fodder Program, etc.);

—elimination of financially ineffective budget programs and allocation of the resources thus made available to the lending needs of structural perestroyka. A massive inventory will be conducted of budget organizations and budget expenditures and inefficient areas uncovered. Facilities built with RSFSR budget funds and the general republic stabilization fund with a payback period of less than six years will be transferred to long-range commercial financing;

—parallel reduction of individual profit and income tax rates and reduction of budget financing of capital investment and subsidies to unprofitable production facilities.

The financing of privatization, active circulation of state securities, lending to finance comprehensive special-purpose programs and development of top-priority sectors dictate the necessity of close interaction with market structures, in view of which there are plans to:

—form a public Council on Lending under the RSFSR Council of Ministers (following other countries' example);

—conduct negotiations and conclude cooperation agreements with commercial banks, insurance companies and markets; introduce supervision of them by government regulators;

—induce commercial structures which are cooperating with the government to analyze budgetary and financial projects to determine which are commercially promising, and to analyze plans for privatization;

—grant reliable banks and financial institutions licenses to hold budget funds;

—form banking consortiums under the aegis of the government for the purpose of realizing capital-intensive ventures.

With the assistance of and in cooperation with lending and banking system institutions the following mechanisms are to be organized within the near future:

—a mechanism for financing privatization;

—a mechanism for circulation of state securities;

—a mechanism for a monetary circulation system independent of the Union center (independent accounting centers to be established);

—a mechanism for formation of large national corporations which will be competitive in foreign markets;

—a mechanism for organization of the system of trade turnover and accounts:

a. with other republics, at market prices;

b. with the former CEMA countries, on the basis of nongovernmental clearing accounts in national currencies.

By 1 July of this year bonds for a State Loan totalling eight billion rubles will be issued and sold.

The practice of issuing export licenses will be terminated. A transition will be made to a system of granting export quotas and licenses on a public (competitive) basis.

Emergency budgets for the remaining quarters of 1991 are to be drawn up (in conjunction with RSFSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions).

* * *

One powerful factor in bringing about an upsurge in the public's commercial activity and stabilization of the social and political situation in our republic is privatization. A person who owns his or her own home and parcel of land, who owns stocks or other financial instruments, has an objective stake in the stability of society and in social and national harmony. And the reverse is true: our unhappy past demonstrates how dangerous to society and its normal functioning are people who have nothing to lose.

The government proceeds upon the assumption that the scale of privatization processes and the diversity of economic circumstances under which privatization will be carried out dictate the need to apply all possible forms and methods of privatization, ranging from variations on uncompensated distribution of state property, including in the form of "personal checks," to forced sale of such property. It is clear that there should be various approaches to the forms and pace of "large" and "small" privatization. Legal regulation of privatization processes and destatization within the territory of the Russian Federation should be implemented on the basis of RSFSR laws.

IV. Privatization and Destatization of the Economy

There are plans to intensify the process of creating joint-stock companies and holding companies using large and medium-size state enterprises and associations thereof as a base. We expect that within the first six months of the current year no fewer than 100 major joint-stock companies will emerge.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers will prevent the dispersion of major capital. Toward this end large commercial complexes which have until now been under the jurisdiction of Union ministries but which are willing to give up budget financing of their production programs and make the transition to commercial financing will be rendered assistance with the modernization of their production facilities and administrative structure, updating of their product lines, access to the foreign market, recruitment of foreign investment and acquisition of mineral extraction licenses.

In view of the higher profitability and rate of turnover of capital in enterprises in the retail trade, services and food service sectors, etc., as well as in small industrial enterprises, privatization of these facilities will according to plan be carried out by means of their sale and purchase. By the end of 1991 the government intends to transfer 19,000 retail trade enterprises, 12,000 food service enterprises and 15,000 enterprises presently under the Russian Consumer Services Union (Rosbytsoyuz) to private ownership by citizens, collectives and other nongovernmental owners. It is planned that 80 percent of the income from this "small" privatization in 1991 and 1992 will be channeled into local budgets, with only 20 percent going to the republic budget; this should increase the interest of local organs of authority in carrying out effective privatization measures.

The following measures are planned with regard to privatization of housing:

—uncompensated distribution to republic citizens of housing which they currently occupy in accordance with current legislation;

—purchase of surplus housing or introduction of rent for use of it;

—organization of joint ownership in multi-unit apartment buildings and gradual liberalization of housing prices;

—continuation of budget programs to build housing which will subsequently be distributed to residents as private property only for those categories of needy citizens whose earnings do not exceed the minimum standard of living.

Privatization of land and the agroindustrial complex is to be carried out through establishment of peasant (farmer-owned) farms on:

—unused lands in the state reserve;

—inefficiently utilized land belonging to kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises;

—and through "internal privatization" of major farms through the introduction of stocks, partnerships, group ownership or other forms of ownership.

It has been determined that enterprises and organizations which perform functions in the agricultural sector for the state as a whole are under Russian jurisdiction.

Efforts will be made to ensure privatization of all areas serving the agricultural sector within the spring and summer of 1991, so that a broad network of trade, procurement and agricultural service enterprises under various forms of ownership will be in place by harvest time. The procedure for distributing revenues accrued from privatization is this: 20 percent to the republic budget, and 80 percent to the local budget. Provision has been made for sanctions: facilities which have not been privatized within the established time limits and revenues from them will be turned over to higher-level state organs.

Local soviets should immediately commence efforts to determine the net worth of the agricultural infrastructure and procurement organizations and make preparations to issue stock in that property.

Parcels of land should be provided to anyone wishing to engage in home gardening or collective or individual

farming, orchard keeping or livestock raising; over one million hectares of land are to be allocated to citizens in 1991 for these purposes.

V. Scientific and Technical Progress

The organizational, economic and legislative foundations will be laid for a market in scientific and technical output:

—budget allocations will be utilized only to finance work of a risky nature, as well as to establish specialized funds, including insurance funds;

—a network of scientific and technical markets will be developed in the RSFSR's economic centers in order to support the functioning of a market in scientific and technical output, services, inventions and new developments;

—a package of legislative acts will be prepared, including acts concerning state scientific and technical policy, scientific intellectual property rights and guarantees that those rights will be protected, science and scientific work, and incentives for high-tech production and production which replaces items currently being imported.

The formation of a republic Academy of Sciences is to be completed within the current year.

VI. Conversion and the Market

Military industrial sectors will be offered a program of cooperation in the fields of research, development and production of consumer goods on a market-oriented basis.

An advantageous system of profit taxes will be established for this category of enterprises with regard to profits received from the production of goods for the civilian market.

Efforts will be made to ensure participation by the military-industrial complex in the implementation of social and economic programs in the territories where its plants are located, utilizing a portion of the budget profits received from sale of the complex's goods abroad for this purpose.

Efforts will be made to divide military-industrial complex facilities into separate enterprises—civilian and defense-related—in all cases in which there exist technologically unrelated facilities for civilian and defense production.

Incentives will be provided with the aid of advantageous lending and taxation to encourage defense enterprises to channel their own resources into various types of innovation and insurance funds.

VII. Social Protection for the Public

Legislation will set the average size of the minimum consumer budget based on the "consumer basket" as of the start of 1991, bearing in mind a strict correlation between that level and the minimum wage.

A state organ which will manage and coordinate efforts to supply the people of the Russian Federation and their treatment facilities with medicine and necessary medical equipment will be organized as quickly as possible. It is proposed that this organ's structure include:

—a. a committee to monitor the quality of medicines and food products;

—b. a pharmaceutical committee;

—c. a committee on medical patents and new medical equipment.

In 1991 free medical services will be maintained; this will entail allocation of budget resources at a requisite level. A transition will begin to a health insurance system.

A minimum wage level for production workers should be established in conjunction with the trade unions.

Public social protection funds should be established at the republic level and maximum assistance rendered to local authorities with the establishment of such funds.

A state order will be issued (including sales tax) for goods in accordance with a list and norms commonly accepted for the "consumer basket."

Indexing payments should be made out of centralized sources only to those individuals who are not able to increase their income during the process of reform, and the wage increase index of those individuals should correspond to the wage increase index of those employed in sectors where prices have been liberalized. Expenditures for the maintenance of facilities in the budgetary realm (education, health care, etc.) should also be indexed.

A state employment service should be established in the republic for the purpose of providing a state guarantee that each citizen of the RSFSR can exercise his or her right to work and freely choose a profession. Financing of measures to provide employment are to be carried out using republic and regional employment funds and social protection funds to protect the public against unemployment.

A republic fund for social support should be formed, primarily through use of funds accumulated as a result of price increases.

A republic program of measures to protect the labor-related, social and intellectual needs of young people should be set up; its first task is to define a system of measures for rendering assistance to young families through advantageous bank loans and budgetary guarantees. Above all these measures will be aimed at providing young people with better housing, making home improvements and increasing the birthrate.

The government will guarantee young families long-term advantageous commercial loans for:

—construction or acquisition of housing (up to 75 percent of its value) with partial cancellation of the loan and lowering of interest rates upon the birth of children;

—home improvements, up to R5,000 [rubles] in 1990 prices (with further cost-of-living adjustments) and with a payback period of three to five years.

A series of permission measures will be taken with regard to students to prevent the emergence and development of social parasitism.

Assistance will be rendered with the development of cultural activities in the RSFSR on the basis of all types of ownership; the operation of stock-issuing and private theaters, art galleries, museums and other cultural facilities will be permitted alongside state institutions, with licenses to operate issued by the RSFSR Ministry of Culture.

Beginning in 1991 a fixed percentage of national income to be used to finance culture and the arts will be established, at a level of at least four percent.

Permission will be granted to RSFSR administrative organs which have jurisdiction over cultural facilities to set the salary levels for cultural workers without any maximum restrictions, independently and within the limits of their budgets.

A system of tax exemptions and economic incentives to encourage the work of creative unions and organizations, their production-related enterprises, cultural institutions and artists will be developed and implemented.

The right to administer cultural heritage sites of statewide significance will be transferred to the RSFSR Ministry of Culture. Those sites will be turned over to corporate bodies for use on a contractual basis with the requirement that the sites be restored and the rent money accrued from them paid into a fund for the development of culture and the arts.

* * *

The Russian program to stabilize the economy and make the transition to market relationships coincides in its goals with the goals of all of Russia's parties and movements: to create a free, well-supplied and highly moral society, to see our Fatherland flourish, and to restore the respect of countries and peoples for our country. The 3rd (Special) RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies proved that the means of attaining these goals will be accepted by a majority of social and political forces.

As they commence implementation of this program the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Council of Ministers are counting on the confidence and support of all the people of Russia. Economic reason and the models of market-based transformations which have proven themselves in the most diverse countries will definitely work in our country as well.

(This program was prepared in accordance with the instructions of the 3rd (Special) RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies and conveyed to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.)

Footnotes

Specific proposals in regard to conversion of military-industrial complex enterprises located within the territory of the RSFSR will be submitted to the Union parliament and government in May of this year.

A fully-developed system of state and public measures to provide social protection to the people of the RSFSR during the transition to a market-based economy will be made public in May of this year.

USSR Customs Committee Established

PM2404122191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report from IZVESTIYA, URAL-SOVETY, POSTFAKTUM, INTERFAX, TASS, and REUTER roundup: "USSR Customs Committee Set Up"]

[Text] The USSR president has signed the USSR Customs Code and USSR law "On the Customs Tariff." The USSR Customs Committee has been formed by the USSR Supreme Soviet as the country's central organ of state customs control.

The new customs laws enshrine the principle of a unified customs territory, customs legislation, and customs service for the USSR, given that this is an essential prerequisite and guarantee of the existence of a unified economic space for the USSR.

The USSR Customs Committee will operate in conjunction with the Customs Tariff Council. Within the framework of this council, which is a unique entity in the history of our state, each of the republics will be able to participate actively and directly in the elaboration of a common customs policy.

Agriculture

Mid-April Weather, Crop Status Reviewed

PM2604110791 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Apr 91 p 2

[Agrometeorologist T. Ivashneva report: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Warm dry weather prevailed in the first half of the past 10-day period over the bulk of the USSR's European territory. The temperature then dropped, particularly in the Baltic, over most of the Northern and Northwest regions, in Belorussia, and in western oblasts of the Ukraine. The northwestern half of the USSR's

European territory had rain, in places in the form of sleet. This weather slowed up the soil drying process and in a number of areas the top layer once again became waterlogged. Unfavorable conditions for field work developed. In the Baltic a temporary snow cover formed 17-18 April. Winter crop vegetation was observed to have stopped in the north of Estonia and the Northwest region due to snow and low temperatures. In places the minimum air temperature dropped to 9 degrees, which may have damaged plants above ground level. Cold air masses accompanied by frosts and snowfall 22-24 April extended to northern oblasts of the Ukraine.

Favorable conditions developed for sowing sunflowers and sugar beet and planting potatoes in the southeastern half of the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus, and the Lower Volga region, where there was no significant drop in temperature or precipitation, and for sowing wheat in the south of Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays. Winter grain crops were at the shooting stage, and in the southwest of the Ukraine and in Krasnodar Kray basal stem nodes appeared on winter wheat and barley above ground level. Winter crops have developed one or two weeks earlier than normal. Spring barley and oat shoots have appeared in the fields in most of the Ukraine and in southern rayons of Rostov and Volgograd Oblasts, while in the Northern Caucasus and in Odessa, Nikolayev, Crimea, and Kherson Oblasts they have reached the third-leaf stage. The development of early spring grain crops is one or two weeks ahead of normal.

The average air temperature during the 10-day period in the Transcaucasian republics was close to normal. Conditions for the growth and development of winter crops were predominantly good. Warm rainy weather facilitated soil moisture retention and created favorable conditions for growth of winter crop stems to start.

Warm weather persisted in the crop farming areas of Siberia and Kazakhstan. The maximum air temperature was 17-22 degrees. This helped the snow cover rapidly disappear from the fields. Winter crops resumed vegetation growth at near-normal times. The plants are mainly in a good state after overwintering.

The coldest period in the Central Asian republics was 13 through 17 April, when there was torrential rain accompanied in places by strong winds—and by hail in Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. The heavy rain made field work difficult. The high air temperature in a number of areas following the rain caused a soil crust to form, preventing cotton shoots from emerging. Crops were observed to be flooded in places. There was stem growth in winter wheat and barley. Plant development is a week behind normal. Mulberry tree and vine leaves opened. Inflorescences formed on vines in the south of the republics.

Agricultural Developments Reported

4-17 Apr

LD1104024591

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian from 4 to 10 April. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

4 April

To date, Kazakhstan collective and state farms have sown 200,000 hectares of spring crops. The republic's five southern republics are sowing barley, wheat, and perennial grasses. (1334)

5-17 April

No significant developments reported.

18-24 April

LD2504031591

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian from 18-24 April. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

18 April

All Union republics have started spring sowing. Spring crops occupy just under 10 million ha, half of the area sown by the same time last year. Operations were held up by rain. Cotton sowing has started in all the areas where it is cultivated with the exception of south Kazakhstan. Maize sowing has started in Central Asian republics while the sowing of sugar beet and sunflower has started in northern Caucasus, the Ukraine and Kirghizia. Large-scale sowing of flax is under way in the Ukraine whereas Belorussia has only started this operation.

Winter crops have emerged from under snow in exceptionally good shape and they are developing 5-10 days ahead of their usual pace. In the Ukraine, Moldova and the lower Volga region winter crops have already formed leaf tubes. A large-scale fertilizer application is under way. (1200)

19-22 April

No significant developments reported.

23 April

Heavy rainfall and hail storms inflicated serious damage on agriculture in the Nauskiy Rayon of Tajikistan. More than 1,200 hectares of cultivated land alone has been destroyed in the state farm called Ukraine. The overall damage is estimated at more than one million rubles. (Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1600 GMT 23 Apr 91)

24 April

No significant developments reported.

Baltic Republics

Baltic Leaders Welcome Iceland Offer

PM2904111991 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 16 Apr 91 p 1

["Decision of the Council of Baltic States on the Offer of the Republic of Iceland to Act as Mediator in the Organization and Holding of Talks between the Baltic States and the USSR"—EKHO LITVY headline]

[Text] Having discussed the offer of the Republic of Iceland to act as mediator in the organization and holding of talks between the Baltic states, comprising the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian Republics, on one side and the USSR on the other, the Council of Baltic states, viewing this step of Iceland's with sincere gratitude, has decided:

that it will accept the offer of the Republic of Iceland;

that it would be expedient for each of the Baltic states to have direct contacts with Iceland during the preparation of possible talks between the Baltic states and the USSR with the mediation of the Republic of Iceland;

that the initiative of the Republic of Iceland can play a positive role in restoring recognition of the independence of the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian Republics by the USSR;

that the given initiative of the Republic of Iceland may be successfully coupled with the process of the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Iceland and the Lithuanian Republic which is currently under way.

The Council of Baltic states views the initiative of the Republic of Iceland as new evidence of a modern approach to the solution of complex international political problems.

[Signed] A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet
V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council
A. Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet

Baltic Leaders Urge Full Talks With USSR

PM2904103591 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 16 Apr 91 p 1

["Appeal of the Council of Baltic States to the USSR President"—EKHO LITVY headline]

[Text] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich!

For our part we welcome with satisfaction the resumption of dialogue between the USSR and the Baltic states. However, the first round of the meetings between the USSR delegations which you have appointed and the delegations of the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian Republics is causing some concern. During the meeting with the delegation of the Lithuanian Republic, for example, the Soviet side refused to place on record the precept of the renunciation of the use of force. During the definition of the status of the delegations' meetings, the Soviet side sought in every way to avoid using the term "talks" [peregovory], pleading that your decree only empowered it to engage in a discussion [obsuzhdeniye] of a range of political, social, and economic issues.

At the same time the delegations of the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian Republics proceed on the basis of the decisions of the Supreme Soviets and Supreme Council of their states to achieve the full restoration of state independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

Such inconsistencies may delay the just solution of the Baltic issue.

The Council of Baltic States addresses you once again with the proposal to show goodwill and give the USSR delegations the mandate to hold full-scale interstate talks with the Baltic countries.

[Signed] A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet
V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council
A. Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet

Baltic States Reject USSR Referendum Resolution

PM2604115791 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 16 Apr 91 p 1

["Statememt of the Council of Baltic States on the USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution 'On the Results of the 17 March 1991 USSR Referendum'"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet 21 March 1991 resolution "On the Results of the 17 March 1991 USSR Referendum" permits an interpretation extending its applicability to the Baltic states—the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian Republics.

In this context the Baltic states, which are not part of the USSR, declare that the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian Republics pursue a course defined by the adoption of acts on the restoration of their independence by their democratically elected Supreme Soviets and Supreme Council in 1990, and also by their peoples during a referendum and plebiscites held in their states 3 March, 9 February, and 3 March 1991, respectively.

[Signed]A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet
V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council
A. Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet

Baltic Deputies Attend Nordic Council Meeting

LD2204162991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 22 Apr 91

[Text] A report from Stockholm. Following an invitation from the Nordic Council, deputies of the three Baltic republics visited Sweden where they attended a two-day meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to prepare for the International Parliamentarian Association Conference to be held in Sweden at the end of this month.

The Baltic representatives demonstrated a good grasp of the legislative association, whose statutes provide for reception of new members only, when the countries belonging to it, provide written recommendations.

It remains unclear, for the time being, whether the Baltic countries will succeed in obtaining the needed recommendations this month yet. However, acceptance into the association would constitute yet another international acknowledgement of these countries' parliaments' legality.

Ruutel on President-Republics Joint Statement

LD2904180591 Tallin Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Interview with Estonian Supreme Soviet Chairman Arnold Ruutel by unidentified ETA correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and representatives of the nine republics signed a joint statement on urgent measures to stabilize the situation and overcome the crisis. It is a politically important document which also has a direct bearing on the interests of the Republic of Estonia. How do you rate the statement in the present political situation?

[Ruutel] The domestic political situation in the Soviet Union has been extremely tense within the past few months and causes concern. The measures noted in the statement to stabilize the situation are welcome inasmuch as they aid democratization, including realizing the peoples' will to be masters of their own fate.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of the five-point plan presented in the statement?

[Ruutel] The Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet has stated that Soviet power is unlawful in Estonia from the moment, it was established and it has announced a transition period. In this light we can look at the decisive measures in the statement to ensure the validity of the USSR Constitution and adherence to USSR legislation only as a domestic matter for the participants of the document. Like the participants of the statement, the Republic of Estonia, too, considers appeals to overthrow its lawfully elected bodies of power as unlawful. Setting Estonia as well as other states which are making a stand for the restoration of their independence apart from USSR Union republics, recognition of their right to resolve independently the issue of joining the Union treaty, as well as refraining from calling them Soviet socialist republics are signs of a development in the USSR position. We hope this will continue.

The Republic of Estonia has repeatedly expressed its readiness to implement anti-crisis measures according to bilateral agreements. Tallinn cooperation conferences at the Estonian Government's initiative can also play a substantial part in this.

[Correspondent] How are our contacts developing with the USSR presently?

[Ruutel] It is possible for the delegations of the Republic of Estonia and the USSR to resolve all the issues. We are ready for comprehensive negotiations and prompt results. There is no doubt that top-level meetings, too, serve to better mutual understanding.

Latvia's Godmanis Discusses Moscow Talks

LD2704101491 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0430 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] As has already been reported, the head of the Latvian Government, Ivars Godmanis, met with USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov, on 23 April. The two sides discussed what is presently the most complicated question of interstate relations: Latvia's payments into the all-Union budget. Today [25 April] Ivars Godmanis briefed the press on the progress of these talks. Here is some insight into what Godmanis said, giving a view of the general atmosphere of the talks and also of the principal question, the possible solution of the payments by Latvia:

[Begin Godmanis recording] We spoke, just the two of us, and very frankly.

You see, a situation has arisen for us, for instance, for Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, perhaps also Moldova and other republics which have taken a stand, especially the Baltic states, which have taken a stand on the road to independence, we are in such a situation that we are observing how the collision of economic standpoints and the struggle of economic standpoints will end there in the east, at the center.

Because, as you well know, the anticrisis program which is proposed by Pavlov's government and the new program which is being adopted by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, with which the Government of Russia is coming out, are completely different. They are absolutely contrary to one another.

Therefore, all of our talk was spent, you see, under the shadow of...[changes thought] Actually, I asked many questions on how he, as the head of the USSR Government, imagines the further development of the spiral of inflation, because it has already begun in the east after the price increases. We have more or less already entered the second stage of this spiral. As you know, this expresses itself in the problem of the farmers. In the

beginning, by raising purchase prices in agriculture and also retail prices, immediately, automatically the prices of industrial products increased. Now we have again arrived at the next loop of the spiral, where there is talk that agricultural prices are increasing, that these prices must increase.

In any event, I asked them how he sees the money issue situation, about money matters, if it concerns the ruble.

So, in the beginning we discussed practically all the future economic aspects of our crisis. We also asked such questions as: What will the USSR Government do if the coal miners are joined by the oil workers, when we are threatened with a full power crisis? In any event, if the metallurgists and the oil workers join the coal miners this will also affect Latvia—perhaps not immediately but after a certain time. Therefore, this also directly affects us to some degree.

I received the reply that if the oil men did join in, then the USSR Government would take very extraordinary steps, extraordinary measures. Well, what that means is probably very difficult to explain simply, but there is no doubt that Pavlov believes that this situation cannot be allowed to go so far that all the power engineering [industry] becomes completely demoralized.

Thus, little by little, we arrived at our conclusions.

You see, my opinion is that there is a certain gradualness. We are in a transitional period. This is defined in the 4 May Declaration, in the transitional period, the recovery of actual independence. Therefore, for us to form new structures, to form new economic ties with the republics, with states which would replace the old, the centralized economic distribution system's formations—we must carry out this changeover, this conversion step by step. It must be carried out gradually because, in the event the opposite happens, jumps of such a kind in the economy are permissible only with very great difficulty.

Therefore, my opinion is that, taking into consideration that we are consuming a great deal—concerning power we are big consumers—we are consuming a great deal of power, then in order to participate in power programmes, I could also logically explain that we would pay a certain amount.

At the same time, in all the official documents which we have received, demands for payment appear which are entirely unacceptable to us, that we should in fact pay as if from a budget of somewhere around 400 million. Then we would have had a budget deficit of 458 million planned—planned from above, not by us. And we have fought not to have a deficit.

The very last, the very biggest amount, was the demand that we should pay somewhere around 2 billion because prices are being raised.

So then, we ourselves are compensating, we are indexing and compensating everything from our means, but furthermore, additionally we give away more than 2 billion. Well, these are quite unacceptable conditions to us, and in the end we are able to pay only what we have and no more.

In this talk I actually said that there could be talk about a certain amount, which we had also considered—we could pay such an amount. There was talk about approximately 300-350 million rubles—this is instead of that 4 billion [as heard] which we were asked to pay.

Pavlov's reaction was that he understood all of my arguments and we further agreed, you see, that all of these financial aspects will be specified by representatives of our Ministry of Finance—both by the representatives of the USSR Ministry of Finance and by the representatives of the Latvian Ministry of Finance. [end recording]

Lithuanian Groups Call 1 May Vilnius Rally

LD2904115991 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT 29 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius April 29 TASS—Lithuanian public-political organisations, in opposition to the current republican leadership, have called on Vilnius residents to hold a rally on May 1 in defence of social, civil and political rights.

An address by the Socialist Federation of Lithuanian Workers, the Unity Socialist Movement, the Vilnius City Council of War, Labour and Army Veterans and the City Communist Party Committee said that the rally will be held under the slogan "No to the Onslaught of Reaction, the Dominance of the Totalitarian Regime and Oppression Against Working People".

The Lithuanian leadership has declared May 1, an official holiday in the Soviet Union, a normal working day, saying that work collectives that want to celebrate must work a full-day on a Saturday.

The address stressed that "during their rule, republican authorities took away workers' social guarantees and their certainty in tomorrow, sowed ethnic strife and violated civil, political and trade union rights".

The rally is planned to be held in one of Vilnius's central squares, until recently named after Soviet state founder Vladimir Lenin.

Lithuania's Landsbergis Cancels Germany Visit

LD3004092791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0850 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Audrius Azubalis, Supreme Council press spokesman, announced at a news briefing this morning that the visit to Germany by V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council, which was due to take place tomorrow, has been cancelled.

Landsbergis is to go on a visit to the United States in the near future. According to preliminary information he will visit Washington, Los Angeles, and Chicago. He will take part in the celebrations at Loyola University. A doctarate has been granted to Landsbergis by the university.

Lithuania's Landsbergis Meets Danish Delegation

LD3004085991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] A large group of Danish politicians, businessmen, and journalists was received by V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, today.

The Supreme Council chairman briefed them on the political situation in Lithuania and specifically on the development of relations with the Soviet Union. Although a certain dialogue with the Soviet Union has begun, it is proceeding without enthusiasm by the Soviet side, he said. There are many problems connected with the presence of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Baltic states in general and on the territory of the Republic of Lithuania in particular.

Answering a question on his current main concern, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council, said: The main concern is that the world is [words indistinct]. He explained that Lithuania was in great need of political support, political protection against the threat of violence. Denmark has already made a step in this sense.

Lithuanian Official on Talks With Pugo

PM2904101991 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 18 Apr 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Lithuanian Internal Affairs Minister M. Misiukonis by ELTA correspondent S. Vaintraubas; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Will the Guard on the Captured Buildings Be Relieved?"]

[Text] The possibility of changing the guard on the television and radio building and certain other buildings seized by assault troopers and stationing Lithuanian police at these installations instead of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops now guarding them—these and other problems relating to relations between the Soviet and Lithuanian services maintaining public order were discussed in Moscow by Marijonas Misiukonis and Boris Pugo, Lithuanian and Soviet internal affairs ministers respectively.

[Misiukonis] I went to Moscow following Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius' letter to Minister B. Pugo. We analyzed the problems that it raised. These are questions of the fight against organized crime, protection for freight in transit, provision of weapons, transport, and special means for Lithuania's police, the guarding of jails, measures to be taken in the event of an accident at the Ignalina AES [nuclear electric power station], and other questions.

[Vaintraubas] As soon as there is talk of returning the seized buildings, high-ranking Soviet officials start talking about insufficient authority [kompetentsiya]. What about Boris Pugo?

[Misiukonis] In this case the ministers are only executing decisions that were probably adopted by higher bodies. So my interlocutor made no specific promises. He only said that the question would be discussed in the near future. A group of USSR MVD experts will visit Vilnius for that purpose in order to familiarize themselves with the situation and discuss relations with our ministry's personnel.

[Vaintraubas] All manner of rumors are circulating regarding the police taking an oath to the Lithuanian Republic....

[Misiukonis] There are a great many fabrications being put about by "Burokevicius' television" in an endeavor to split our forces. Presently this oath has been taken by the prevailing majority of the ministry apparatus' leadership echelon and the municipal and rayon police. No one has as yet refused to swear the oath. It is the turn of commissariat personnel. Of course, debates are under way and some people have reflected—the police do, after all, reflect society's sentiments to a certain extent. The so-called separation of police officials into patriots and nonpatriots also introduces destructive elements. I must say that the police has been depoliticized and that it is not a particular force but Lithuanian laws that are its principal guide.

Lithuania Enacts 1991 Budget Provisions

PM2904120991 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 17 Apr 91 p 1

["Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Resolution on Bringing into Force the Lithuanian Republic Law on the State Budget for 1991 and Normative Deductions to Local Authority Budgets, and Subsidies"—EKHO LITVY headline]

[Text] The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To empower the Lithuanian Government to distribute and specify appropriations for capital investment, science, and higher education (through their controlling agencies) within the limits of the Lithuanian state budget appropriations allocated thereto.

2. The budget funds (85,671,000 rubles [R]) left unappropriated during the discussion of the budget will be allocated as follows:

1) R1.3 million to build berths at the yacht club in the town of Nida;

2) R235,000 to the Environmental Protection Department to improve the pay of workers with territorial agencies;

3) R84,136,000 to Lithuanian Government reserves.

3. The republic's government is instructed:

1) to submit proposals to the Supreme Soviet on amplifying the 1991 state budget should such amplification become necessary as a result of unforeseen price and tariff changes, or changes to other substantial economic ratios;

2) to specify the total land tax revenue envisaged in local authorities' budget calculations for 1991, and to submit proposals to the Supreme Soviet by 1 July 1991;

3) to draw up criteria and normatives for determining pay rates at organs of power and local authority administrations for 1991, reducing the total actual wages fund for 1990 by 12 percent and taking account of the envisaged compensation, and to submit such criteria and normatives to the Supreme Soviet by 15 April 1991;

4) to allocate not less than R40 million to agriculture upon adoption of the decision to distribute the funds referred to in Paragraph 2, subparagraph 3 of this resolution to replenish government reserves.

[Signed] V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.

Vilnius, 2 April 1991.

Vagnorius Signs Decree on Use of Firearms

LD2904120491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] A decree has been signed by Prime Minister Gedimanas Vagnorius. Based on the provisional National Defense Obligation Law of the Republic of Lithuania, and on the National Defense Service Law, it is established that soldiers who in the country's defense are guarding the Supreme Council and the government buildings of the Republic of Lithuania, as well as the Bank of Lithuania and its branches or other buildings deemed vital by the government, have the right, when under attack, to use firearms to the same extent as that granted the officials of the Internal Affairs Ministry.

Special Militia Target of Intimidation

PM2904132191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Apr 91 First Edition p1

["Direct Line" report by Correspondent Captain 2d Rank V. Gromak: "Special Purpose Militia Detachment Will Not Be Intimidated"]

[Text] Vilnius, 18 Apr—The newspaper RESPUBLIKA [Republic] has published a list of personnel in the Vilnius special purpose militia unit. Naturally, this has been done for one reason alone: to create an atmosphere of terror and intimidation around the unit and members of servicemen's families (the special purpose militia unit is part of the internal troops).

After this, Lithuanian Prime Minister G. Vagnorius said that the "government is prepared to take extreme measures to repel the special purpose militia unit's actions." A local radio broadcast added the following point to the ultimatum: This will be done "with the use of armed force."

The special purpose militia unit personnel held a meeting in this connection. Members of the unit said that no threats or ultimatums can force them to abandon their chosen path: to serve the fatherland, Soviet laws, and Soviet people. "We swore to do this when taking up service in USSR internal affairs bodies," their statement says. "Any attempt to bring pressure or force to bear on us and our families or to use weapons will be duly rebuffed...."

Lithuanian Party Shows 'Viability'

PM2904145991 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 16 Apr 91 p 4

[L. Filippova report: "Social Democrats Prepare for Congress"]

[Text] "Freedom, justice, solidarity." The Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, formed under this slogan in 1896 and resurrected 18 months ago, remains loyal to the principles and direction of its activity. This is shown by the party statute, the draft of which was broadly discussed at a republic-level conference of Lithuanian Social Democratic Party members held in Vilnius on Saturday. This latest conference was convened on the eve of the 15th party congress (scheduled for 4-5 May); it not only had to prepare the statute for approval at the congress but, for the first time since the party's restoration, proposed a discussion on the party's role in Lithuanian political life.

A topical issue, as they say. Some speakers talked frankly about the critical situation that has developed in the party, the certain degree of inertia shown by its structures, and its facelessness in the republic's political spectrum. Internal party life was subjected to criticism. Kazimeras Antanavicius, chairman of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, reproached his fellow party members with failing to take an active stand and show solidarity during the discussion of various issues. He began his speech to the conference with a statement in which he asked his colleagues to release him from his duties as party chairman, giving his work in the legislature and other pressures as the reason. It was decided to discuss this question at the congress.

But most speakers felt sure that it is possible to improve the party's activity. This must be helped by the wealth of Social Democratic traditions in other countries—particularly the Scandinavian countries, whose experience must be analyzed—and by active participation in

Lithuanian sociopolitical life. The main aspects of the party's activity, its optimum structure, the party's place in society, and its ties with other democratic organizations are reflected in the draft Lithuanian Social Democratic Party Statute discussed.

The conference itself constituted an important argument confirming the party's viability.

RSFSR

Yeltsin Visits Kuzbass To Meet With Miners

Explains Aims of Visit

LD2904131391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Apr 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpts] First about Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's trip to Kuzbass, which begins today. [passage omitted] Before leaving by air, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin spoke of the aims of his visit. He said he wants to elucidate the following questions:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] [Video shows Yeltsin interview at airport] Well, first, what has been done since my last visit from the point of view of meeting their demands? Further, what has been done to transfer the miners to the jurisdiction of Russia? How is my instruction to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers to settle all the economic issues being carried out? [end recording]

Meets With Striking Miners

LD2904175991 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 29 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent G. Shalakin]

[Text] Novokuznetsk April 29 TASS—Russian leader Boris Yeltsin today arrived in Novokuznetsk and went into talks with representatives of striking miners, who have stayed off work for nearly two months.

The wide-ranging talks focused on ways to end the crisis.

On Tuesday, Yeltsin is to visit the western Siberian metallurgical factory in this city and go to the town of Prokopyevsk to meet with local working people.

This is his second trip to the Kuzbass mining area since being elected leader of the Russian parliament.

Takes 'Draft Decision' to Kuzbass

LD2904210491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Apr 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As they are saying at the Central Council of Workers of the Coal Industry, the situation in the Kuzbass largely depends on the miners' meeting with the chairman of the Russian legislature.

[Begin recording] [correspondent N. Chirkov] Already on the steps of the aircraft the journalists besieged Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin with quite a few pointed questions. What is the chairman of the Russian legislature preparing to do to overcome the crisis in the coal industry of the country's largest coal basin? How can the situation in the Kuzbass be stabilized? Here are the facts just from today: Forty mines and two opencast mines are taking part in the strike, just as before. Almost 2,500 rail cars were not loaded today. After the joint statement by the leaders of the supreme bodies of the republic and country, the residents of the oblast, and first and foremost the miners, are awaiting more decisive actions.

[Yeltsin] We shall discuss together the situation that has taken shape which is, of course, abnormal and requires some kind of very serious solutions. I have brought with me a draft decision of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia and if we resolve the questions after discussing them, I shall immediately...[changes thought] we shall sign it at the meeting.

[Chirkov] Here is the first round of the talks with the miners. In Novokuznetsk Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin met with members of the strike committees of the Kuzbass and the public from the oblast [end recording]

Discusses Joint Statement

LD2904200591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1931 GMT 29 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Novokuznetsk, 29 April (TASS)—"I have come to Kuzbass in a normal working frame of mind," Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, told a TASS correspondent when he arrived in Novokuznetsk today. He said that he will be meeting the miners and discussing with them what needs to be done to stabilize the situation.

A meeting took place today between the leader of the Russian legislature and reprsentatives of the Kuzbass strike committees, which was attended by a large group of people's deputies in the republic. A detailed conversation took place about the essence of the joint statement which was signed by the country's president and the leaders of nine republics, and about Boris Yeltsin's position regarding the strike and the workers' committees.

Regarding the meeting between the USSR president and the leaders of the nine republics, Boris Yeltsin said that it could not, of course, solve all the issues and achieve complete clarity. Those who took part in it reached a compromise, he stressed. The main outcome is that a real possibility has emerged to get out of this period—which is a most difficult one for the republic and the

country—with the least damage being done. The powerful social forces—the working and democratic movement, the new parties, progressive-minded communists and active citizens—can and must become the main guarantee and controller of accords between the republics. Together we can all take advantage of the opportunities which were opened up by the meeting between the republican leaders and the president.

Speaking about the miners' strike, Boris Yeltsin stressed that it is the strike collectives themselves that can settle this question. A way out of the strike can only be voluntary, he said.

At the same meeting it was proposed to nominate Boris Yeltsin as Russian presidential candidate.

Says Central Organs To Be 'Reorganized'

LD2904222691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2050 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has arrived in Novokuznetsk. Today he met representatives of the miners' collectives of Kuzbass. The Russian leader noted that thanks to the persistence of the miners, who moved from economic to political demands, President Gorbachev had agreed that following the signing of a new Union treaty the central organs of power will be reorganized. Yeltsin voiced the hope that Gorbachev had drawn serious conclusions for himself, having moved to admit his own mistakes. This was borne out by the meeting between the president and the leaders of a number of union republics on 23 April.

100,000 Attend Pro-Yeltsin Rally in Moscow

LD2904221491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2050 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] A rally of the democratic public took place on Manezhnaya Square in Moscow today in support of (?nominating) Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin as candidate for president of Russia. According to estimates of our correspondents, no less than 100,000 Muscovites and their guests assembled.

Turnout 'Lower Than Expected'

PM3004101591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Manezhnaya Square Rally"]

[Text] Supporters of "Democratic Russia" and the "Sotsprof" alternative association shared their ideas on the current situation with the Muscovites who gathered in Manezhnaya Square on the evening of 29 April.

The speakers, including people's deputies at various levels, expressed their support for B.N. Yeltsin's candidacy for the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] presidency, and for the miners' demands, and summed up the results of the Independent Trade Union Federation of Russia's 26 April warning protest action. But, according to the organizers themselves, the turnout in the square was lower than expected. The poor weather may have been to blame, or are people simply starting to tire of "rally democracy?"

Moscow Debate on City Status, Mayor Reported

PM2904202191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 91 Union Edition p 3

["Direct Line" report by Irina Demchenko: "Will Moscow Remain the Capital of the USSR?"]

[Text] An extraordinary session of Moscow City Soviet opened 29 April with two items on the agenda: One on the mayor of Moscow and the other on the status of the City of Moscow.

Characterizing in his opening address the recently published draft USSR law on the status of the City of Moscow, G. Popov, chairman of Moscow City Soviet, said this document cannot be adopted as a basis. In Popov's words, Moscow is first and foremost a city of the Russian Federation and the capital of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and can exercise the functions of the capital of the Union only on condition that the RSFSR assume the necessary commitments. He urged deputies to support the Provision on the Status and Structure of the Organs of Administration of the City of Moscow as Capital of the RSFSR, adopted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which assigns to Moscow City Soviet virtually all its present functions and powers, which the draft Union document omits.

According to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution, the Moscow mayoral elections will be held 12 June—the day of the RSFSR presidential election. On the same day there will be a poll of Muscovites on the advisability of merging the oblast and the city in a capital okrug with a population of 16 million and a single residence permit and system of supply, trade, and consumer services. It is possible that if the Moscow City Soviet session supports this proposal the poll will also include points on the advisability of making Moscow the capital of the RSFSR and the USSR.

Popov asked Moscow City Soviet deputies to excuse him from attending the discussion of the question of Moscow's mayor bearing in mind his personal interest in the outcome of the discussion. Judging from the beginning of the session, some Moscow deputies intend to challenge the legality of instituting the office of mayor on the grounds that it has no constitutional basis on RSFSR territory. S. Shakhray, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee, informed your IZVESTIYA correspondent that the introduction of this post in Moscow and a number of other RSFSR cities does not contravene the RSFSR Constitution and would be in accordance with the resolution "On the Redistribution of the Powers of the Organs of State Power in the RSFSR" adopted at the Third Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies.

Decisions Adopted

LD3004052691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Korablev on the Moscow City Soviet's extraordinary session in Moscow on 29 April]

[Excerpts] Three questions are included on the agenda of the extraordinary session of the Moscow City Soviet: on the mayor of Moscow and the procedure for electing him; on the draft law of the USSR on the status of the capital of our Union and the Russian Federation; and the third question, on the creation and establishment of a group to collect signatures to support the candidacy of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin for the post of president of the Russian Federation. The reason for convening an extraordinary session was the demand by the Initiative Deputies group, comprising 180 people, which expressed disagreement with the draft USSR law on the status of the USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] capital as well as with the decision of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet on the status and structure of the management bodies of the city of Moscow, the capital of the RSFSR, which were published in the press. In the view of the Initiative group, both of these documents cannot be adopted even as a basis, since they meet neither the interests of the people of Moscow nor the Moscow City Soviet.

Having discussed the clause on the mayor of Moscow and the procedure for electing him, deputies adopted as a basis a draft decision on this question. Right now, as I speak, consideration of amendments to this decision is under way. The discussion of a draft decision on the status of the city as the capital of the USSR and the RSFSR will begin. [passage omitted]

The Moscow City Soviet has adopted a decision on the mayor of Moscow and the status of the capital and an appeal to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Supreme Soviet, with the following proposal: to form a commission to prepare a law on the status of the capital of the RSFSR and the USSR on a parity basis, composed of members of Supreme Soviets of the RSFSR and the USSR and people's deputies of the Moscow City Soviet; to make decisions in the commission through consensus of the sides; to adopt a law on the status of the capital on the basis of a new Union treaty after it is signed; and to include representatives of people's deputies of the Moscow City Soviet on the commission. On that note, the extraordinary session of the Moscow City Soviet ended.

Parties Face Choice of 'Realism or Extremism'

LD2904154391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1358 GMT 29 Apr 91

[By TASS observer Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr (TASS)—Realism or extremism is the choice faced presently in Russia by the movement that unites within its ranks a significant part of the forces opposing the CPSU.

A two-day plenum of the council of representatives of the Democratic Russia [DR] movement, which ended last Sunday, and congresses of its constituent Democratic and Social Democratic Parties, have shown that the opposition is approaching the coming elections for the president of Russia with increasing differences.

During the congess of the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR], led by Nikolay Travkin, two of its other leaders, Garri Kasparov and Arkadiy Murashev, as well as some 100 of their supporters, ostentatiously left the party. The essence of their differences was expressed by Arkadiy Murashev, who said, at the plenum of the council of DR representatives: "We left the DPR because it has abandoned de facto the declared anti-communist course."

Much displeasure on the part of the radical part of the DR leadership was also caused by the fact that three other parties belonging to the movement—the DPR, the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, and the Constitutional-Democratic Party—had set up the pre-election "National Accord-Constructive Democratic Bloc." A declaration by the bloc declares, in part, the "rejection of left and right radicalism, and of all forms of political extremism."

Yuriy Afanasyev, cochairman of the DR coordinating council and one of the movement's most radical leaders, has called the actions of the leader of these parties "sabotage" and an "attempted split." According to him, the rejection of the demand for the president's resignation expressed by a number of the movement's leaders, including not only Nikolay Travkin but also Boris Yeltsin, "has in many ways disoriented the democratic movement."

The Joint Statement on Immediate Measures for Stabilizing the Situation in the Country and Overcoming the Crisis, signed by the USSR president and the leaders of the nine Union republics, including Boris Yeltsin, was perceived by many people in the country as a stabilizing factor. But the most DR leaders perceived the very fact of the appearance of such a document as Boris Yeltsin's "concession" to the USSR president, which caused their displeasure.

No Improvement in Moscow Food Supply

LD2904194291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 29 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Ruben Shirinyan]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr (TASS)—No improvement in the provision of Moscow with foodstufffs has occurred this month. As before, there is an insufficient quantity of meat, milk, and other basic food in the shops although their prices have increased two or three-fold. This

depressing conclusion was drawn at a press conference held today by Sergey Stankevich, first deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet. In his opinion, "no changes in the distribution sphere will help," and it is difficult to fill in the gaps in the supply of meat and other products within a short period. The speaker called in essence for "reliance on one's own strength." As is known, Moscow residents are now being allocated small (0.03 hectare) plots of land on which they may grow potatoes. Even if such methods succeed in fully providing city residents with their "second bread"—this is what potatoes are called in Russia—the shortage of many other foods, in Stankevich's opinion, will remain for the near future and it cannot be excluded that it may become more acute.

The first deputy chairman of the city soviet reported that at the extraordinary session of the city soviet which opens today, a draft law on the status of the Soviet capital will be discussed. Sergey Stankevich stated his critical attitude toward this document and expressed the hope that other drafts will also be proposed at the session. He recalled that the results of a recent selective opinion poll showed that 80 percent of Muscovites polled came out in favor of holding elections for mayor of Moscow in June this year.

The first deputy chairman of the city soviet recently visited the United States, where he took part in talks on granting an additional land plot to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. The talks, he reported at the press conference, were very complex but an accord was reached: The embassy will be assigned a plot next to the building where it is situated. The U.S. side has agreed to pay the city an acceptable sum for the plot and to build accommodation for those living in the buildings being pulled down.

Further Reportage on Silayev Visit to U.S.

Meets Congress Leaders

LD2504190891 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program And Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 25 Apr 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Cabinet of Ministers, who is visiting the United States, has met U.S. Congress leaders. Later, at a news conference, the head of the Russian Government announced that the Washington part of his visit has ended with positive results. We had two tasks, Ivan Silayev said. In the first place, to inform administration officials and the Congress leaders about the foreign and domestic policies of the Russian Government, and second, to turn over a new page in relations between the Russian Federation and the United States and individual states.

Addresses U.S. Businessmen in New York

LD2704104391 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 27 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Makurin]

[Text] New York April 27 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, on a tour of the United States, met U.S. business representatives in New York on Friday to discuss cooperation between Russian businesses and American corporations.

The meeting was organised by the U.S.-U.S.S.R Trade and Economic Council in Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

The Russian Federation, the largest Soviet republic, was the first to embark on market reforms, Silayev said.

"We have begun promoting entrepreneurship in Russia and believe that the entrepreneur will save it. To achieve this we seek legislative and constitutional rights that would create a favourable atmosphere and protect the Russian entrepreneur from negative influence," Silayev said.

"We have declared private land ownership and, although our opponents claimed that the farmer had lost a sense of land owner during the 70 years, we are glad to say that they were wrong and that farms are developing in Russia faster than we envisaged," he said.

Privatisation of small businesses was proceeding rapidly, Silayev said, commenting on difficulties in privatising large state enterprises.

"However, a considerable number of large enterprises, including in the defense complex, have been turned into joint stock societies and invite foreign partners to buy their shares," he said.

The Russian leadership grants independence to local authorities and enterprises to pursue foreign economic activities and this provides good opportunities for U.S. businesses to cooperate with Soviet partners, Silayev said.

The Russian prime minister welcomed the meeting between President Mikhail Gorbachev, Russian President Boris Yeltsin and leaders of eight other Soviet republics and the signing of a joint statement on measures to stabilise the situation in the country.

"I believe that this meeting is crucial for our immediate future because in order to be implemented the Russian programme requires president (Gorbachev's) support," Silayev said.

Asked if Russia will take upon itself some of the Soviet debt to Western creditors, Silayev said that Russia's share in the total debt is about 55 per cent.

"We will be making contributions to the Union Cabinet of Ministers, which will be repaying the debt," he said.

"If the USSR Vneshekonombank is the debtor, it should pay with our contributions. In the future, however, contracts and credits will be concluded and registered through the Russian Vneshekonombank," he said.

Ends Visit 28 Apr

LD2804212191 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT 28 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Mostovets]

[Text] New York April 28 TASS—Visiting Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev today left for Moscow.

Silayev was invited to visit the United States by the U.S. Governors Association.

During his week-long visit, the Russian delegation visited Washington, Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York and held talks with U.S. Administration officials, the Congress leadership and authorities in a number of states. The delegation also met business people and the public.

The delegation has signed a joint statement with the U.S. Governors Association, an agreement on friendship and partnership between the Russian Federation and California, an amendment to a similar agreement with Maryland and other documents.

At New York's Kennedy International Airport, Silayev was seen off by Soviet Permanent Representative at the United Nations Yuliy Vorontsov.

Western Republics

Belorussia Adopts Resolution on Strikes

PM2904200991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 91 Union Edition p 3

["Direct Line" report by Mikhail Shimanskiy: "After the Strike"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a resolution "On the Situation in the Republic in Connection With the Organization and Staging of Rallies and Strikes in April 1991."

The Presidium instructed the republic Council of Ministers to thoroughly analyze the situation connected with the staging of rallies and strikes in April 1991 and urgently adopt additional measures to stabilize the socioeconomic situation, defend citizens' rights and the republic's interests, protect property and social order, and fill the republic's market with food and industrial goods in daily demand. The republic Prosecutor's Office, the Belorussian SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and the Belorussian SSR KGB are to ensure that the legislation currently in force is implemented without fail.

The Minsk City strike committee has adopted a decision to prepare for a new republic-wide political strike. What is the cause of this?

"Essentially," G. Bykov, cochairman of the Minsk strike committee and worker at the automatic production lines plant, explained, "not a single one of the city's labor collectives' political demands has been met. I mean the questions of departyization, depoliticization, the republic's sovereignty, and private ownership of land. The republic Supreme Soviet must examine these demands, and we want an extraordinary session. Since the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has not tried to accommodate us, and the next session of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet opens 21 May, we intend to start our strike on that day. I cannot state that the strike will definitely start then—it all depends on how events develop."

Belorussia Urges More Stabilization Measures

LD2904162291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision on the situation in the republic in connection with the organization and holding meetings and strikes in April this year. The decision suggests that the republican Council of Ministers comprehensively analyze the situation and urgently adopt additional measures to stabilize the situation, and that the republican procuracy, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and KGB insure strict observance of the current legislation. At the same time, an IZVESTIYA correspondent reports, the Minsk strike committee has decided to prepare for another nationwide strike in Belorussia, is to begin on 21 May. But it may not take place. Everything depends on how events develop

Minsk Evinces 'Spirit of Political Confrontation'

PM2904153991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 91 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondents O. Stepanenko and A. Ulitenok: "Belorussia: More Strikes. Who is Dealing a Blow to the Economy"]

[Text] Minsk—More strikes and rallies in Belorussia. They have taken place in Minsk, Vitebsk, Mogilev, and other cities.

The worrying events were preceded by anxious expectation. The republican leaders had analyzed the situation during the first wave of strikes. The measures that had been prepared earlier for the social protection of the population against price increases were expanded and amplified. A dialogue began with the strike committees.

Recognizing the gravity of the situation, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee made an appeal to the people. The considerable increases in the prices of goods and services, it noted, caused protests by working

people, made them feel confused and uncertain about the future, and effectively brought hundreds of thousands of people to the verge of poverty. Fully sharing the citizens' just indignation at the ill-conceived increase in prices, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee said that the "Union government has not kept its promises, having presented the people with measures whose expediency cannot be reasonably explained and is not within the realms of common sense."

These measures hit Belorussia hardest of all. The cities here were pretty well supplied with food, and at low state prices, moreover. And people were shaken by the instant switch from a tolerable living standrd to the poverty level. Furthermore, the republic's enterprises operate mainly on imported raw materials and semimanufactures. Hiccups in supplies of them from other regions have led to greater production costs and less pay. Then there is still Chernobyl....

But instead of trying to find a step-by-step way out of the general predicament, the right-wing forces, calling themselves "left-wingers" and "democrats," started to exacerbate the situation. Taking advantage of working people's unhappiness about the price increases, they concentrated their efforts toward confrontation with those seeking a constructive solution.

As well as the previous demands, set out during the first strike wave, new ones are now being made at rallies—the immediate convening of a Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session to resolve questions of the departyization of management organs, removal of party committees from enterprises, privatization and private ownership of land.

The workers' economic demands, as we can see, were pushed into the background. The spirit of political confrontation is more and more evident in the squares. Many people know that it was orchestrated. S. Shushkevich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, talked in the press and on television about the destructive forces' activities. Apparently, what had frightened them was that light had appeared at the end of the tunnel. Ways of stabilizing the economy had emerged in the republic, according to the results of the first quarter. Enterprises had started to get back on their feet. The government was making ends meet, according to its budget. It is no mean achievement in such difficult conditions. And compensation for the price reform was getting close to an adequate sum. Against this backdrop, the destructive forces' position might have appeared unattractive. So they decided to stir things up and push the people even deeper into the mire. They rejected all reasonable proposals and switched to the language of ultimatums.

A few days ago the republican Council of Ministers adopted some new measures, in addition to the social protection measures PRAVDA has already reported. On the introduction of new salary and wage rates for working people in higher education. And also orders removing the sales tax from a number of food goods and introducing the old retail prices for fruit and vegetable juices and drinks, which are produced and sold in the republic. But the strike committees are essentially making extra political demands for each additional government measure to improve the working people's economic status.

A typical example: In the squares there are more and more emissaries from other regions and even from abroad. Representatives of Poland's "Solidarity" and of the Lithuanian workers union participated in the conference of representatives of strike committees, which made the decision to strike. They were sharing their experience of the strike struggle.

The vast majority of republican enterprises did not participate in the strike. Its organizers are planning to continue and widen the scale of the action and involve major republican enterprises in it. The blow to the Belorussian economy, dealt by the strikes and rallies, is even now jeopardizing the implementation of the programs for the social protection of working people. What will happen tomorrow? It looks like more and more workers are beginning to realize that an open power struggle is in progress, a struggle in which the people and their interests are being given short shrift.

Ukraine Supreme Soviet Commemorates Chernobyl

LD2904163691 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] A plenary session of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet was held today. Radio Kiev's correspondents report:

This session of the republic's highest legislative organ proceeded under the sign of Chernobyl—the tragic page in the history of the Ukrainian people. The session began with a minute of silence in memory of the victims of Chernobyl.

On behalf of the presidium, the Supreme Soviet was addressed by Ivan Plyushch, its first deputy chairman. He said that all of us are united by the common pain, by the Chernobyl tragedy which still remains outside many people's awareness. In our republic alone nearly 2 million people, 116 rayons, many large towns, and a considerable proportion of the forests, arable land, and rivers have found themselves under radioactive pollution. But the most bitter losses are human lives.

The Chernobyl incident was not an accidental misfortune, Ivan Plyushch stressed. There are specific culprits—the all-Union Energy Department. That is why the Ukraine has every ground for demanding compensation from it for great losses. What is involved is not only material and spiritual losses, but also meddling with the genetic fund of the whole nation.

Contamination May Entail Resettlement of Kievans

PM2904141791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[Sergey Tsikora report: "Conflict in Legislature"]

[Text] Kiev—Even such a sad date as the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl tragedy could not avert a major conflict in the Ukrainian legislature.

For all intents and purposes the legislature was paralyzed: The opposition walked out of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Hall of Sessions. The walkout was big enough to prevent the adoption of decisions, particularly when more than two-thirds of the votes are required.

Events developed as follows. The deputies adopted a Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet statement on the appeal from the "Soyuz" deputies' group to convene an emergency congress and immediately declare a state of emergency throughout the USSR. This appeal was deemed by the statement to be an attempt by "extreme conservative forces to return the country to the notorious times of the repressive administrative system and to erase the positive gains of the past few years." The deputies then adopted a document agreed by all political groupings in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet on priority measures to get the republic out of the crisis.

The conflict arose after a vote on the question of releasing Deputy S. Khmara from custody before the investigation of his case began. The option proposed by the opposition did not garner the necessary amount of votes. A statement was then made by the "Narodna Rada" ["People's Council" opposition group] to the effect that it had exhausted its opportunities for legislative work, was withdrawing its signature from the anticrisis program, and would be appealing to the Ukrainian people for support. With that, the opposition deputies staged their walkout.

On 26 April the morning session of the republic's Supreme Soviet paid its respects to the memory of those affected by the Chernobyl tragedy. Opposition deputies took part in this session. New information about the consequences of the explosion at the Chernobyl AES was reported from the session rostrum. Almost half of the republic's territory has been contaminated and there is now talk of resettling people even from some parts of Kiev.

Contaminated Village Relocated

PM2904140191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Apr 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast: Report by Yu. Repeynik and A. Budulayev, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] Tomorrow is the 5th anniversary of the fire at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station [AES]. Our report today is devoted to a positive example from the life of the people living in the areas affected by radioactive contamination.

[Repeynik] Within the current year a whole village in Zhitomir Oblast which was affected by Chernobyl will be relocated in Aleksandrovskiy Rayon in Kirovograd Oblast. Nothing will change. Neighbors will remain neighbors. Railroad and road transport workers and suppliers of materials are managing to provide the oblast Agro-Industrial Construction Trust No. 5 Mechanized Mobile Construction Unit, which was set up specially for this purpose, with everything it needs. The construction workers are in a hurry. They need to complete a residential settlement consisting of 400 buildings in less than a year, by 1 September, preserving both the architecture and the layout of the village which is having to be relocated as a result of the disaster, and even retaining the original street names.

There will be three such villages in Kirovograd Oblast.

Supreme Soviet Resolution on Moldova Situation

PM2904195391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Resolution 'On Ways To Achieve Accord on Normalizing the Situation in the SSR of Moldova'"]

[Text] Having heard and discussed the report of Comrade G.N. Kiselev, leader of the group of USSR people's deputies which went to study the situation in the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova, the Soviet of Nationalities notes that in accordance with the USSR president's decree "On Measures To normalize the Situation in the SSR of Moldova" some measures have been taken in the republic to stabilize the situation and reduce tension in interethnic relations. In the near future it is planned to review the republic Supreme Soviet's resolution on the functioning of languages on its territory.

At the same time the fulfillment of the main provisions of the decree is being delayed on various pretexts. A number of legislative acts infringing the rights of the non-Moldavian population have still not been repealed, the procedure whereby USSR legislative acts go into force only after their ratification by the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet is still in place, the unconstitutional organs of the Dnestr and Gagauz republics continue to operate, and the powers of a number of Moldova deputies from these regions have not been restored.

The demarcation of the republic's population is intensifying, as are different views of possible ways of the further development of the SSR of Moldova. Unlike the official authorities' line of achieving full sovereignty and state independence, the majority of inhabitants of the Dnestr and Gagauz regions do not see their future outside the USSR. As the main conditions of national accord they demand the renunciation by the republic's

legislature and leadership of the assertion of Moldova's unlawful inclusion in the USSR, official confirmation of the republic's participation in the new Union treaty, and the repeal of legislative acts which infringe the rights of the population of other nationalities, and also consideration of their interests in the preparation of new laws.

Taking into account the destructive character of the continuing confrontation between different social forces in the SSR of Moldova and the threat to the preservation of its integrity, the Soviet of Nationalities **resolves**:

1. To appeal to the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the people of the SSR of Moldova for national accord and constructive dialogue on the basis of the existing laws so as to preserve the republic's integrity within a renewed USSR.

To propose to the SSR of Moldova leadership and the leaders of opposition forces the immediate opening of talks on the elaboration of compromise decisions.

2. To urge the population and political leaders of the Dnestr and Gagauz regions to declare moratoriums on all actions leading to the division of the SSR of Moldova and to urge the president and legislature of Moldova to suspend previously adopted legislative acts which infringe the rights of the non-Moldavian population.

3. To establish a permanent group of USSR people's deputies headed by Comrade S.V. Pilnikov to carry out intermediary, peacemaking functions and maintain regular links with SSR of Moldova people's deputies.

4. To instruct the USSR Cabinet of Ministers to form and send to the republic a working group of representatives of USSR law-enforcement, financial, and economic organs to examine specific problems on the spot and claims against the central organs of administration.

5. To entrust monitoring of the fulfillment of this resolution to the Soviet of Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations Commission.

R. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities

The Kremlin, Moscow, 26 April 1991

Caucasus

Earthquake Hits Georgia; Damage, Death Reported

Thirty Reported Killed

LD2904190691 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—An earthquake hit the Transcaucasian Republic of Georgia today, causing damage and killing some 30 people, according to preliminary data.

The Soviet Government expressed sincere sympathy to the peoples of Georgia over the tragedy, and condolences to the bereaved families.

The epicentre of the quake was some 90 kilometres north-east of the city of Kutaisi.

Shock Felt Over Wide Area

LD2904183191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1730 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] As a TASS correspondent was informed at the Central Seismological Observatory at Obninsk of the Geophysics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the epicenter of the [Georgian] earthquake was in the territory of the South Ossetia Autonomous Oblast, near the village of Dzhava. The raging of the subterranean elements was felt over a wide area. The force of the tremor reached 7-8 in Tskhinvali, 7 in Kutaisi, 5-6 in Tbilisi, 4-5 in Groznyy and Vladikavkaz, and 3-4 in Sochi and Stavropol.

News has come in of houses being destroyed in the village of Dzhava. According to Grigoryan, director of the Institute of Geological Sciences of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, the earthquake was also felt in Armenia. Tremors of force 5 were felt in Idzhevan, 4-5 in Leninakan, and 3-3.5 in Yerevan. Nobody was killed.

This has been a TASS report.

Extent of Damage Detailed

AU3004101391 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Georgian 0400 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Excerpts] On 29 April, at 1313 local time, a strong earhquake occured within the frontiers of Georgia. It was felt most strongly in Sachkhere Rayon where its force reached 7-8. The earthquake mainly affected the area around the town of Chiat'ura, the regions of Oni, Ambrolauri, and Tqibuli, and villages in Shida Kartli, which adjoins Sachkhere Rayon. There are fatalities and buildings have been destroyed and damaged.

In Tbilisi, the force of the earthquake was 4-5; no buildings were destroyed. There were several much weaker earthquakes following the main quake in Georgia.

In Georgia, on 29 April 1991, a Republic of Georgia Government commission was set up under the chairmanship of Tengis Sigua, chairman of the Republic of Georgia Government, in order to deal with the consequences of the earthquake. [passage omitted] At the same time, Mr. Tengis Sigua and other members of the commission have gone to the regions that have been affected.

The press center of the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs has reported that, yesterday, a strong earthquake was felt in Samachablo [South Ossetia]. In Kekhvi and Tamarasheni, ten houses have been destroyed and two persons have been injured. There are

no fatalities. The military headquarters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has reported that, in Java, 15 houses have been destroyed and 40 percent of the buildings have been damaged. There are no fatalities.

The first earthquake occurred in Sachkhere and Chiat'ura. Houses were destroyed in villages and towns in both regions. In Sachkhere, a communal block of appartments, the railway station, and [word indistinct] school were destroyed. There are fatalities. In Chiat'ura, several school buildings were damaged, in particular, the [name indistinct] secondary school. Measures are being taken to evacuate people. Clearing up work has begun but there is insufficient local manpower. Presently, we do not know how many people have been killed. The areas affected by the earthquake have particular need of technical and medical assistance.

In Zestap'oni, many buildings were damaged following tremors from the earthquake. Stores, schools, and houses suffered broken windows. The [name indistinct] secondary school building has suffered damage that is beyond repair.

In Abkhazia, the earthquake occured at 1314. In the new residential area in Sokhumi, people living on the top floor of nine- and 12-story houses felt the strong eathquake. Certain houses suffered broken (?windows) but no buildings were destroyed.

According to operational data, there is no destruction and no victims in Ajara. Cracks appeared in the walls of houses in mountainous regions.

Our correspondent Avtandil [name indistinct] who was in Raja:

[Begin recording] As you know, we returned from Raja, specifically from Ambrolauri, late yesterday evening. [passage omitted] Houses have been destroyed, the majority in villages. Not quite so many buildings have been destroyed, in Ambrolauri and Oni. Several churches have been destroyed including one synagogue. As you already know, seven people have been killed; four in Ambrolauri Rayon and three in Oni Rayon; three children and four adults. We also flew over Kharagauli Rayon where houses have likewise been destroyed. It is impossible to take people to the hospital [word indistinct] in Ambrolauri Rayon; sick people are being taken to towns and accommodated with various families because the situation is very dangerous today in (?the hospitals) in Raja, Oni, and Ambrolauri. [passage omitted] Thank God that, at the time of the earthquake, the spring agricultural works were under way in Raja and children and people were out in the fields so the number of fatalaties is not high. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Regarding Kutaisi, the force of the earthquake there was six but, fortunately, no serious destruction occured. [passage omitted]

Georgian Strikes Hitting Soviet Economy Hard

AU2904111391 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Georgian 0400 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Countless cables are being sent from almost all the republics of the Soviet Union to the prefect of Rustavi and also to the town's industrial enterprises.

[Soviet] factories are demanding that the Rustavi enterprises speed up their delivery of goods. The strike has hit the country's economy hard.

As T'eimuraz Janelidze, Rustavi's prefect, said, the delivery of goods to different factories in the Soviet Union was halted at those enterprises in Rustavi that are subordinate to the Union on the first day of the strike in Georgia. As a result, considerable damage is being done to the Soviet economy, which is already in a state of collapse.

Indeed, the damage is considerable. For example, the non-delivery of goods from the chemical fiber factory has disrupted work at tire producing firms. Production has almost come to a halt at the Kamaz truck plant in Tataria and the tractor plant in Belorussia, and the automobile factory in Gorki has been paralyzed.

The non-delivery of (?tubular rolled metal) from the metallurgical factory has resulted in the closure of factories in [names indistinct].

The Soviet Union's petroleum, gas, automobile, and agricultural machinery industries have suffered considerable damage. The tractor and [word indistinct] combine plants in Chelyabinsk have been forced to lay off all their personnel.

The [non-delivery] of goods from the cement and crane factories have had a considerable effect on the production coefficient of the Soviet construction industry. Losses incurred by (?steelwork) plants are estimated at 100 million rubles.

Oppositionist Assails 'Dictator' Gamsakhurdia

PM2904102591 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 9 Apr 91 p 10

[Interview with Georgian Democratic Nationalist Party Chairman Georgiy Chanturia by Myriam Jose in Tbilisi; date not given]

[Text] Tbilisi—Democratic Nationalist Party (DNP) Chairman Georgiy Chanturia talked about Georgian independence to LA VANGUARDIA in his office at the organization's headquarters in Tbilisi. The DNP backs the West as against the "Russian empire," describes the first nationalist president of the republic as a dictator who is the "product of 70 years of communist servitude," and condemns his intervention in the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

[Josa] The aim of the DNP, a member of the extraparliamentary opposition united in the National Congress,

and of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of the Republic of Georgia is independence from the Soviet Union. What are the differences?

[Chanturia] We do indeed want independence comprising the current republic's entire territory. We believe that the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia is historically entitled to autonomy—not the Autonomous Republic of Adzharia. Its inhabitants are Georgians of the Muslim religion (Orthodox Christians predominate in Georgia). As for the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, it has only existed since Stalin's time. The Ossets have always been in North Ossetia (now an autonomous republic of the Russian Federation). But Gamsakhurdia should not have eliminated their autonomy as he did after they proclaimed themselves a republic. We condemn sending troops and armed men by Gamsakhurdia and blocking the capital, Tskhinvali. The issue of Ossetia should be tackled after Georgia's independence. The Osset and Georgian peoples are victims of a triple provocation.

[Josa] What role does the Kremlin play in this provocation?

[Chanturia] Historically, the Kremlin is chiefly responsible—it is now encouraging the autonomous regions against the republics which are aiming to secede from the USSR, in order to have allies—but it needs agents: Gamsakhurdia for Georgia and President Kulenbeco [as published] for South Ossetia, who has armed Ossets in order to resist the Georgian bands.

[Josa] Gamsakhurdia has said that he would give land only to Georgians. Apart from the disagreements about the course of independence, do you agree on the future?

[Chanturia] No, not at all. Democracy for just one ethnic or social group is no democracy. Democracy is for everybody or it does not exist. Gamsakhurdia is a product of 70 years of communist servitude. It is easier to regain independence than freedom. Perhaps in a year we will become independent of Moscow, but it will take between 10 and 50 years to become real people again. Gamsakhurdia is a dictator who now controls the opposition, which is unable to appear on television or publish its press.

[Josa] Will the president sign the new Union treaty which President Gorbachev hopes to secure?

[Chanturia] In principle, he says "no." Later he will appear remorsefully on television and tell the people that the treaty must be signed because otherwise we will lose South Ossetia (pressures from the center), and he will sign it.

[Josa] In the DNP's opinion, how should relations with the Soviet Union be approached? Would dealing with Boris Yeltsin be preferable?

[Chanturia] Russia raised the flag of democracy while other republics raised that of nationalism. Yeltsin is no democrat. I do not trust him. This democracy is convenient for the former bureaucrats. Lenin exchanged religious orthodoxy for Marx. Gorbachev has also changed ideology. For Russia the important thing is not ideology; it is the empire. That is why we back Europe.

Army Arrests Georgians in Tskhinvali Rayon

AU2904105891 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Georgian 0400 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] As we have already reported, on 27 April, in the morning, six armored carriers containing units of the so-called red berets invaded the village of Eredvi in Tskhinvali Rayon. They arrested nine Georgian residents. At the same time, [words indistinct] they used firearms as a result of which (?Emzar) Beruashvili, the deputy director of Eredvi's secondary school, was wounded.

Those arrested were taken to Tskhinvali for [words indistinct]. At the [word indistinct] demand of militia Colonel Ot'ar Ch'akhunashvili, who is performing the duties of commander of Tskhinvali, and David (?Khokhuladze), the rayon procurator, a brigade from the Union procurator's office that has arrived in Tskhinvali examined the case of the Georgians who had been arrested the same day. In view of the fact that no incriminating evidence had been presented, they were released. Only the seriously wounded (?Emzar) Beruashvili has remained in Tskhinvali; he is in the hospital under heavy military guard.

Also on 27 April, [number indistinct] illegally detained Georgians were released from the Tskhinvali militia first [word indistinct] following lengthy negotiations. Presently, there are 12 Georgians in the detention cell; all the necessary measures are being taken to secure their release.

It has to be pointed out that the brigade from the Union procurator's office that arrived in Tskhinvali on (?15) April has not recognized the powers of [name indistinct] Pukhayev, the self-proclaimed procurator of Tskhinvali Rayon. The brigade is examining all criminal investigations and (?social) questions in Samachablo [South Ossetia] together with David Ch'kanadze, the lawful procurator of Tskhinvali Rayon.

During the night of 27 April and the early morning of 28 April, it was relatively quiet in Tskhinvali; only sporadic shooting could be heard here and there.

Armenian Party Congress Views Nationalization

PM3004091791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[R. Satyan report: "Third Stage of Congress"]

[Text] The delegates to the 29th Armenian Communist Party Congress, whose third stage has ended in Yerevan, had complex tasks to tackle. As people are aware, on 17 April the republic Supreme Soviet adopted a decision to

nationalize the property of the Armenian Communist Party and the Lenin Youth League—a step which, among other things, has perfectly obvious political aims, namely to deprive the Communist Party of a material base and reduce it to the level of an ordinary political force, shorn of weight and authority.

The very next morning they had already begun stock-taking at the "expropriated" Armenian Communist Party Central Committee building, where, as has been announced, the legislature will henceforth sit and work. Many raykoms [rayon party committees] have been instructed to vacate their premises within a week and make room for chidren's and charitable institutions.

In short, the machinery has been put in motion. It has turned out that neither President Gorbachev's decree on this score nor the statement by the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat and the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, let alone the rulings by the Union Prosecutor's Office and Ministry of Justice and "resolute protests" published in the local press, are capable of halting it.

How many times can you repeat that the legislature has made a decision at variance with the Constitution, legislation, and the principles of democracy? How many times can you tell people that there can be no question at all of nationalization or transfer to state control, because the Communist Party's material resources were basically acquired through the CPSU's centralized funds and transferred to its ownership with right of use. These questions were put at the nine-hour-long congress a host of times and the answers reiterated as often: But if we do not repeat the questions, do not seek to persuade, and do not exhort, what is to be done?

"There is nothing more destructive for us than retreating from the political struggle," S.K. Pogosyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, stressed in his speech. This idea found broad support among delegates. For all the diversity and dissimilarity of opinions, they were unanimous on one thing: A policy of one-sided concessions and compromises is inappropriate and fallacious. The Communist Party can and must play a more active role in the interests of working people, whose standard of living has declined markedly of late, congress delegates said. But if it is to constitute a real opposition to the new authorities, which are having difficulty coping with the weight of the problems bearing down on the republic, it needs to fully mobilize its forces, adopt a clear position, and have effective work methods.

The congress asked the republic Supreme Soviet to review its decision on nationalizing the Communist Party's property. A political statement analyzing the sociopolitical and economic situation in the republic was also adopted.

Azerbaijani Attacks Reported Inside Armenia

NC3004100691 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] The so-called Azerbaijani Militia Detachments have become conspicuously more active recently, causing the situation on Armenia's border regions to become substantially complicated. The attacks on the Armenian villages resumed on the night of 29 April. Brigand attacks were made on the guard post at Lachinskiy Rayon, which was defending Khnatsakh village in Armenia's Gorisskiy Rayon. The attack ceased after [the guards] returned fire. The militia guard post near Vagashen village in Idzhevanskiy Rayon came under automatic and rifle fire from the direction of Kazakhskiy Rayon. One person was wounded.

The latest incidents again confirm that the center, having joined forces with Azerbaijan, is continuing to implement its policy of deporting the Armenian population by labeling the Armenians, who are forced to resort to self-defense, as Armenian guerrillas. By influencing public opinion against them it is placing a [word indistinct] halo around the heads of the real subservient supporters and their patrons.

Mutalibov Demands End to Armenian Interference

LD2904122891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1130 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Baku, 29 Apr (AZERINFORM-TASS)—Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Transcaucasian Republic of Azerbaijan, has demanded an immediate end to interference by Armenia in the internal affairs of that sovereign republic. The so-called problem of Nagorno-Karabakh will be tackled in the autonomous republic itself and in Azerbaijan, he stressed in a statement disseminated today by the republican news agency.

The statement notes that the Supreme Soviet of Armenia, despite the decision by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, has still not rescinded its anti-constitutional decisions on joining the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] of the Azerbaijan Republic to Armenia. It recalls that in violation of the Constitution of the USSR and of Azerbaijan, deputies from the NKAO were elected to the Supreme Soviet of Armenia in 1990. Armenia has still not reacted to the proposal of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, made as long ago as the middle of last year, to establish a five-kilometer emergency situation zone along the border, on the territory of both republics.

Expressing the will of the Azerbaijani people, the president of the republic demanded the establishment of a five-kilometer wide strip on Armenian territory, along the border; an end to helicopter flights and attacks on Azerbaijani villages; and the fulfillment of the decree by the president of the USSR on the dissolution and disarming of armed bandit groups in the NKAO.

"We have delegated the defense of our sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the republic to the government of the USSR, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, and the USSR KGB, and are certain that they will fulfill their constitutional duty toward the people of Azerbaijan," the statement continues. "At the same time, we are full of determination to defend our borders and put an end to the actions of terrorists with our own forces, too."

For its part, the Supreme Soviet of Armenia adopted last week a decision to raise the question of convening an extraordinary USSR Congress of People's Deputies, with the aim of examining issues connected with the "continuing worsening of the situation in several Armenian populated rayons of Azerbaijan."

Trains Cease Running on Nakhichevan Railroad

LD2904160891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Trains have again stopped running on the Nakhichevan stretch of the Azerbaijan railway. Over the past two days almost 1,500 cars, bound for the neighboring republic, have accumulated here on the stretch of the railway starting from Norashen Station, which is situated on the border with Armenia. (Rustamov), first deputy head of the Azerbaijan railway, said that the stoppage of traffic and a large number of trains took place because on 28 April Armenian workers suspended the transportation of goods from Norashen station to their republic. They explained this by the exchanges of fire in the Azerbaijani village of Sadarak, which is near the station. And now Azerbaijani railway workers are refusing to drive trains to Idzhevan station after another incident of firing at the locomotive on the Kazakh-(Barkhurorly) stretch of the railway. This was reported by TASS.

Former Azerbaijan Party Leader Supports Yeltsin

LD3004132991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Apr

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] We would like to draw your attention to two reports by the POSTFAKTUM News Agency. Geydar Aliyev, the former leader of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and a republican people's deputy, has expressed support for the country's democratic movement, in particular for the energetic activities of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic democratic forces led by Boris Yeltsin.